

BULLETIN OF  
THE JOHN RYLANDS  
LIBRARY  
MANCHESTER

EDITED  
BY THE  
LIBRARIAN  
(HENRY GUPPY)

VOL. 29

JULY, 1945

No. 1

NOTES AND NEWS.

**L**ORD WOOLTON, Minister of Reconstruction, was installed as Chancellor of the University of Manchester on the 16th of May, 1945. He is the first graduate of the University to occupy the position.

INSTALLATION OF NEW  
CHANCELLOR  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY  
OF  
MANCHESTER

The office of Chancellor has been vacant since the death of the late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres in 1940, at which date it was considered desirable, because of the war, to defer the choice of a successor, which rests with Convocation, the association of graduates of the University.

Lord Woolton is himself a graduate of Manchester, a native of the city, and an old boy of Manchester Grammar School. He is also a member of the Court of the University of Liverpool, with which city, as well as with Birmingham, his business career and his interest in educational and social developments were associated before his experience and ability were put entirely at the service of the Government at the beginning of the war, first as Minister of Food and more recently as Minister of Reconstruction.

During the last war, being medically rejected for military service, the new Chancellor, as Mr. F. J. Marquis, joined the War Office Contracts Department staff and became Controller of Boots. This led to the secretaryship of the Boot Manufacturers' Association after the war, and in 1920 to the Board of Lewis's Limited, of which he became chairman and managing director in 1936.

The new Chancellor has always maintained a close association with his old University. He was an active Chairman of Convocation and his services in that capacity are remembered with gratitude. He is, so far as is known, and excluding Oxford and

Cambridge, the first graduate of an English University to be chosen Chancellor of his own University.

INSTALLATION.—The ceremony of Installation was conducted by the Vice-Chancellor (Sir John Stopford) with the following address :

My Lord and Chancellor : This day the members of the Victoria University of Manchester greet you as their head and offer you a most hearty welcome on the occasion of your installation as Chancellor.

Your acceptance of this office, to which Convocation elected you, and which has been occupied by five distinguished predecessors, has given widespread pleasure. We rejoice in the knowledge that you are a native of this city, an old boy of our great Grammar School, and a graduate of the University. We remember with gratitude that in past years you were a valued member of the Court and Council and Chairman of Convocation, and we recall with particular pride your outstanding and distinctive services to the nation as Minister of Food and Minister of Reconstruction. In the former position, during the most perilous years of the war, by your foresight and judgment your achievements approached the miraculous, and in the latter position you are laying the foundations for a new era.

Our University is fortunate in having as Chancellor one who has an intimate knowledge of our history, tradition and needs, and who possesses unique personal qualifications and a ripe, rich and wide experience. In the years to come we trust that we may have the advantage of your advice, that you will be willing to support the University by your presence and influence, and uphold resolutely that freedom which is essential for all educational development and progress.

We welcome you in full confidence that the interests of the University are safe in your hands and we fervently hope that you may adorn for many years the office to which you have been elected, and in which to-day we install you.

Lord Woolton, speaking for the first time as Chancellor of the University of Manchester, said that he took into his keeping the traditions established by his predecessors in office : Men like the Devonshires, who have held the service of the State as their



paramount duty ; Earl Spencer, John Morley, and Lord Crawford and Balcarres. " I know the value of this University as only its graduate can know it."

Passing on to the contribution of the universities towards the war effort, Lord Woolton said that some day the story would be told of all the offensive and productive powers that were made available to this country by scientific research. They had placed our engineering industries—both mechanical and electrical—in the forefront of the trades of the world. They had destroyed the enemy and protected us from their assaults.

" But they have not been confined to war," continued the Chancellor. " They have enabled the destruction by disease to be retarded and life to be saved, and, if I may come something nearer to my own knowledge and experience in these years of war, I would praise the work of those biochemists who, in the universities of this country, discovered and taught us the science of nutrition, the value of vitamins, and the basis on which food could be harnessed to health."

There were two other problems which would indeed challenge our capacity—the problems of living together as a nation and as a nation among nations. Of the second of these we had more experience than most. The greatest testimony to our success was shown when all the peoples of the Commonwealth, of their own will, came together in common sacrifice to fight for the ideal of independence which we had taught them. But in our hour of victory we had " reason to tremble at the vision of the future." We had excelled. We had proved ourselves masters of the genius of mechanised war. Our generalship on the fields of battle had been unsurpassed in this war and unrivalled in history. Our courage at home had matched that of our fighting men in all the elements, and, almost without thought, we had sacrificed the wealth we had accumulated in the past and mortgaged our future earnings for years to come. What a testimony this made to the spirit of man and to the fertility of his mind. But the question remained whether our political wisdom would be equal to our spirit. The universities had given us knowledge. The challenge of the day was to use that knowledge for the service of man so that life might be more abundant.

"I believe we shall meet that challenge," said Lord Woolton. "Here in Britain I believe we are already shaping the form of a new society and we have been greatly helped by those who, in the universities, have made a study of the ways and the mind of men. I see a new Britain that cares more than we thought possible before the war for the health of the young, for the development of the capacity of the normal as well as the very clever child; a society that resolves to share to the full in the protection of the individual from the evils of misfortune that come from the mischance of ill-health or unemployment, and a society that is resolved to use all the powers of government and finance to create those conditions that will lead to an expanding economy and the full employment of our man-power for the purpose of raising the standard of our common life and our fuller enjoyment of the beauties of life and the art of living.

"I believe that the political wisdom of the world will fall below the spirit of man unless it is controlled and inspired by the supreme conception of religious duty, and it was because of this belief that I asked to-day for the support of your Bishop. We, here in this University no less than elsewhere, will face the future with a glorious spirit of confident adventure and show to the world that Britain can earn in peace victories no less renowned than those which in these last five years have enlightened and ennobled the history of our race."

But what of the future? We could re-create peace and prosperity in this country. Wherever one looked there was something new—something waiting to be developed. There was a widespread challenge to the application of new scientific thought to the world of material things—for the creation of new products that would give health and pleasure and still further lighten labour. During the war, in common with the United States, we had learned something new in the technology of production in war. We would have to decide how we were going to use that to public advantage in peace.

In the first place the ceremony in the Whitworth Hall was a Manchester tribute to a Manchester man, but it borrowed further significance from the fact that it also marked the conferment upon ten distinguished men and women of the highest honour which



the University can bestow, that of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (LL.D.).

The following is a list of the recipients of the degree :—

JOHN GILBERT WINANT, Ambassador of the United States in Great Britain.

AIR MARSHAL SIR CHARLES PORTAL, Chief of the Air Staff.

LORD CATTO, Governor of the Bank of England.

GEORGE GIBSON, a former president of the T.U.C.

DAME MYRA HESS, the distinguished pianist.

JAMES GUNN, portrait painter.

THE COUNTESS OF LIMERICK.

DR. GUY WARMAN, Bishop of Manchester.

SIR WILLIAM JAMESON, Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health and Board of Education.

NORMAN SMITH, Registrar of the University of Manchester.

The honorary graduands were presented to the Chancellor by Professor T. W. Manson, with his usual felicity :

JOHN GILBERT WINANT (LL.D.).—Presented as the most valuable and the most highly valued piece of lend-lease equipment that the United States of America has delivered to these islands in all the years of the war. The Ambassador's very silences had been eloquent of comradeship and courage. Never in the history of Anglo-American diplomacy has so much of such moment been said in so few words.

AIR MARSHAL SIR CHARLES PORTAL (LL.D.).—Described by the Presentor as a most distinguished member of the brilliant band of officers of our youngest fighting Service, who in the beginning of its history in the last war made reputations for themselves which they have enhanced in this war.

In large measure we owe it to the Air Marshal that when the fury of innumerable wings was let loose upon us the Royal Air Force, though still small in numbers, was good enough to shoot the Luftwaffe out of the English skies, and when it had grown greater, to invade the air of the Third Reich and lay the machinery of German militarism in fantastic ruin on German soil.

To-day, basking in the sunshine of victory in Europe, we pay grateful tribute to one whose far-sighted planning and indomitable resolution helped greatly to make that victory possible.

THOMAS SIVEWRIGHT, BARON CATTO, GOVERNOR OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND (LL.D.).—Presented to the Chancellor as the nation's bank manager, the Scottish Governor of the Bank of England. Such was the brilliance of the career of this modern Alexander that new powers and responsibilities were constantly being added to him until there was little in the field of commerce and finance, in the Old World or in the New, that lay outside his interest and expert knowledge and few quarters where his advice was not in constant demand.

In the supreme crisis of our national fortune he laid aside all personal interests and gave himself wholly to the service of the nation as Honorary Financial Adviser to the Treasury. Now he is Governor of the Bank of England.

GEORGE GIBSON (LL.D.).—Presented as one of the outstanding leaders of the Trade Union Movement, in which he commands the greatest respect and confidence by virtue of his character and accomplishments.

DAME MYRA HESS (LL.D.).—Presented as a concert pianist of the very first rank, known and admired on both sides of the Atlantic. Those qualified to speak of her music acclaim her mastery in many fields, but most of all, her profound understanding and superb interpretation of the romantic genius of Schumann.

JAMES GUNN (LL.D.).—Presented as a portrait painter, well-known as one who produces recognisable likenesses of recognised public figures. In 1939 he was awarded the Gold Medal of the Paris Salon. By our late Chancellor he was chosen to paint the portrait which adorns this Hall.

ANGELA OLIVIA, COUNTESS OF LIMERICK (LL.D.).—Presented to the Chancellor as a lady altogether worthy to stand as the type and representative of the uncounted thousands who are always ready to give without stint of their time, strength and possessions to heal the wounds, and to mitigate the hardships which war brings to mankind. In these war years she has taken a leading part, not only in her own British Red Cross Society, but in the joint work carried on in co-operation with the Order of St. John.

This war service is part of a larger work inspired by a lasting concern for the happiness and welfare of the people.



GUY WARMAN, BISHOP OF MANCHESTER (LL.D.).—Presented to the Chancellor as our Bishop : lawfully ours since 1919, increasingly ours, in the affectionate regard of us all, with every year that passes.

He came to us with unusually wide experience of all sorts and conditions of men, and all kinds of places, an experience ranging from Bradford to Truro, from Birkenhead to Chelmsford. He came with first-hand knowledge of many sides of the world's work in Church and State, gained not only in the study but also in living contacts with men and women and their needs, spiritual and material. His episcopate here is marked by its warm human sympathies, mature wisdom and ready generosity in giving his own services and in appreciating those of others.

On this occasion it is proper to speak of his service to this University as a member of Court and Council. For this work he is more than adequately qualified through personal acquaintance with three other universities and long service as a teacher of Theology and head of a Theological College. All this knowledge of academic affairs and with it a generous allotment of his time and energy, is always at the disposal of the University. We have special reason to be grateful for his interest in the University's housing problem, for his indefatigable labours in the maintenance of existing Halls of Residence and in planning for those we hope one day to possess. We owe much to him and he is as high in our regard as we are deep in his debt.

SIR WILLIAM JAMESON (LL.D.).—Presented as the gentleman who feels the national pulse, inspects the national tongue, and then assures us in the blandest and most comforting manner that, on the whole, we are keeping better than we feel. In other words, Sir William Jameson is the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health and Board of Education.

The foundations of his knowledge were laid in Aberdeen : Arts, Medicine and Law were all taken in his stride. The training commenced in Aberdeen was completed in London, where began a long career to which first-hand experience of the work of a Medical Officer of Health in the London boroughs was brought into service in teaching in the London Medical Schools. Guy's and The London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine

both know him, the one as Lecturer, the other as Dean and Professor. In 1940 he became Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health and the Board of Education, and the nation is duly grateful to him for all that he has accomplished in a period of unexampled stress and difficulty.

NORMAN SMITH, REGISTRAR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER (LL.D.).—Presented to the Chancellor as one who, man and boy, has worked in this University, and for it, for fifty years. During the last twenty-five of them he has been our Registrar, such a Registrar as universities dream about but seldom have the good fortune to see. To the manifold duties of his office, he has brought an unobtrusive ubiquity coupled with an inoffensive omniscience. Sagacious in the drafting of our ordinances and regulations, and humane and equitable in their administration, he has carried out to the letter the wise king's advice that he who would have friends must show himself friendly. He has a multitude of friends, and, so far as can be ascertained, no really enthusiastic enemy. Old inhabitants of the University have yet to hear an ill word spoken of him, and little expectation that they ever will.

But before he was the incomparable Registrar he was a brilliant student and an able teacher, as no one, my Lord and Chancellor, knows better than you. For he had a share in directing your youthful undergraduate footsteps into those paths of academic rectitude that have led to the exalted position which you now so happily occupy.

For fifty years he has been here as student, teacher, administrator, single-minded in his devotion to this University and the things for which it stands. Any honour and happiness the University can confer on him by giving this honorary Doctorate is a light thing in comparison with the honour and happiness he has brought to us by being what he is.

In acknowledging the honours conferred upon himself and his fellow graduates Mr. Winant did nothing to alter the President's view that "he has not been remarkable for ambassadorial loquacity." He spoke shortly but with deep sincerity, "There is one thing about foreign relations of which I would like to remind you," he said, "and that is that they are continuing



whether we are experiencing war or peace. And if we are to have good foreign relations we must make the same effort in peace time as we have made in war time. We have won victory in the West, but we are still facing war in the East. There is no rest for us until peace is won. We have learned in total war that it is total strength that counts. Until we realise that we must pool the things we have got in the interests of peace we will never be able to look forward to complete and enduring peace. That is the great lesson that we have had to learn over the last two decades : that is the lesson that I have the faith to believe we have learned for all time."

Air Marshal Sir Charles Portal began his brief address by divulging an "official secret"—the fact that throughout the war the relations between the Cabinet and the heads of the fighting services were consistently cordial. This co-operation, he suggested, was not by any means common to all wars, and historians of the future might find it rather interesting that Ministers and military chiefs had worked together in such a harmonious team.

Sir Charles went on to pay tribute to the universities' contribution—notably in the sphere of scientific research. The Services had "scrambled" for all that the universities could give to them in men and in service, and it was only because the universities had responded so nobly that they had been able to put into the field the very best of equipment and "some extraordinarily useful devices." Their increasing reliance upon the scientist was one of the most striking features of modern war. He hoped that this war time collaboration would continue in peace time, for it would be a bad day indeed for the fighting Services if ever they came to think that they could be self-sufficient in the matter of research and technical development.

The directors of Lewis's Limited have given £35,000 to Manchester University as a contribution towards the cost of a hall of residence to be known as Woolton Hall.

WOOLTON  
HALL FOR  
MEN  
STUDENTS

Announcing this at a luncheon attended by the Vice-Chancellor of the University (Sir John Stopford) and the Treasurer of the University (Sir William Clare Lees), Mr. S. H.

Leake, executive chairman of Lewis's and its associated companies, said the directors wished to record their pride in the installation of Lord Woolton, former chairman of the Lewis's group of companies, as Chancellor of Manchester University, and to give expression to their profound belief in the value of a university education to a business career.

Universities of this country, he said, had owed much in the past to private benefactions, the day of which was to some extent passing, and the directors regarded it as both a privilege and a duty that large public companies should maintain that tradition. Mr. Leake said that it was in accordance with the urgent need of the extension of facilities for residence, with Lord Woolton's wishes, and in harmony with Lewis's view of a permanent memorial that the gift should be devoted to that purpose.

Sir John Stopford spoke of it as a "magnificent and generous gift," and said they could not have given anything at the present moment of greater and more permanent value to the University. It would enable them to put into practice at the earliest possible moment a policy already decided on—that at least a year of a student's period at the University should be spent in a hall of residence. Sir John described the reasons for this policy, and continued: "Your magnificent and generous gift enables us to see, as soon as we can get the necessary permission to build, the prospect of putting up one of some five or six new halls, which we know we shall have to put up to secure at least one year's compulsory residence. We have a site in Fallowfield on which such a hall could go—an ideal site, because it is adjoining our athletic grounds and near the largest hall of residence we have got. That is a hall of residence for women. This would be a men's hall of residence, and it would be known as the Woolton Hall, and so perpetuate for all time the name of Woolton for which we have such a great respect and a high regard."

Sir John said Lord Woolton had created many records. One of them he had never seen referred to in public (and he thought it was true) was that Lord Woolton was the first student of a modern civic university to become its Chancellor. So Manchester had again created a record, as had Lord Woolton.

Sir John (replying to questions) said the hall would be for



not fewer than 80 to 100 students, though the ideal number was 100 to 120. There were three halls of residence directly under the University, whose students also used five halls of a general character, and two halls for theological students.

We regret to have to record the death of Dr. Oliver Elton, D.Litt., F.B.A., King Alfred Professor of English Literature in the University of Liverpool from 1900 to 1925, and from 1925 Professor Emeritus, which took place at Woodstock Road, Oxford, on the 4th of June.

PROFESSOR OLIVER ELTON
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Born in 1861, Oliver Elton was the only son of the Rev. C. A. Elton, the well-known historical scholar. He was educated at Marlborough and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he entered as a scholar, graduating with a first class in *Lit. Hum.* in 1884.

In 1890 he was appointed Lecturer in English Literature at Owen's College, when Dr. A. W. Ward, who had till then taught English Literature as well as Ancient and Modern History, resigned the teaching of both subjects, and a new lectureship in English Literature was created, which Elton was appointed to fill. Here he remained for ten years, during which he produced an edition of Milton, a book on "The Augustan Ages" in the "Periods of European Literature" Series, and a translation of "The Mythical Books of Saxo Grammaticus," *Historia Danica*, which threw light on some ultimate sources of the Hamlet story.

Elton's ten years' tenure of this post (1890-1900) left its mark both upon the young University and upon the intellectual life of Manchester at large. He wrote an introduction to the Spenser Society's edition of the "Poems of Drayton," which became the foundation of the later monograph (1905), which remains the best critical study of the most Elizabethan of the Elizabethan poets. He also became a valued contributor and reviewer for the *Manchester Guardian*, and with C. E. Montagu, whose familiarity with the French stage he shared, contributed by his brilliant dramatic notices to the preparation of the ground in the city for the dramatic renaissance which was about to dawn in England.

In 1900 Elton was appointed to the King Alfred Chair of English Literature at Liverpool, which had been occupied by Andrew Cecil Bradley and Walter Raleigh. Following these eminent men Elton, although comparatively unknown, brought all the resources of his fine intellect to the scholarly and administrative tasks which awaited him.

As time went on he gained great reputation by the breadth and depth of his reading, which embraced not only the literature of England and of the ancient civilisations, but those of most modern European countries.

Biographical and critical studies of Michael Drayton (1905) and Frederick York Powell (1906), and a collection of literary essays called "Modern Studies" (1907) were followed in 1912 by "A Survey of English Literature, 1780-1830," founded on first-hand acquaintance with the works not only of major but of minor writers, which was recognised by scholars to be an important contribution to literary criticism. It was extended to 1880 by two further volumes, which appeared in 1920, and backward to 1730 by two more in 1928.

In his actual teaching Elton exerted a strong and abiding influence. First-year students were impressed with the weight of his knowledge and the ease and skill with which he imparted it. His lectures were always well proportioned and sane, providing a guide to the writers under description and to the best sources of information about them. He did not believe in overburdening undergraduates with class-room work. Honours students, in particular, were given ample time for their private reading, and encouraged and required to supplement their literature courses by studies in languages, history, and philosophy. Essays were very carefully scrutinised and periodical visits to Elton's room, where superficialities were discouraged and constructive emendations suggested, were part of a liberal education enjoyed by those privileged to call themselves "Elton's men."

During the tenure of his Chair, and after his retirement, Elton was several times invited to lecture at other universities. During the winter of 1917-1918 he was special lecturer at Panjab University, Lahore, in 1922-1923 he lectured at University College, London. He relinquished his Liverpool Chair early in



1926 and went to Harvard, where he was Visiting Professor, the same year he delivered the Lowell Lectures at Boston. In 1927-1928 he was visiting professor at Bedford College for Women, in 1929-1930 he was lecturer in rhetoric at Gresham College, and in 1930 he paid a second visit to Harvard.

He became an honorary Fellow of Corpus in 1930, was president of the English Association in 1932, and was a Fellow of the British Academy. The honorary degree of D.Litt. was conferred on him by the universities of Durham, Manchester, Oxford, Liverpool and Reading.

His retirement was spent chiefly at Oxford, and he continued ever fresh in outlook to write, lecture and act as external lecturer. He learned Russian after he was 60, and his "Verse from Pushkin and Others" (1935) was a fruit of this new interest. In 1929 he wrote a memoir of C. E. Montagu, in 1933 a subtly devised study of "The English Muse," in 1938 Pushkin's "Evgeny Onegin" in English verse, and in the *Slavonic Review* between 1940 and 1944 lyrics from Polish and Serbian.

Dr. Elton was never officially attached to the Rylands Library, but he was a constant visitor and friend, both during his residence in Manchester and since.

We are indebted to writers of the obituary notices in the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Times* for much of the information about Dr. Elton and his remarkable career.

We regret to have to announce the passing of another friend of the Library through the death of Professor W. J. Sedgefield, Emeritus Professor of Manchester University, at the age of 78 years, which took place on the 30th April, at Alton, Hampshire.

PROFESSOR W. J. SEDFIELD
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Walter John Sedgefield was born at Melbourne, in 1866, where his father had settled in an official legal post.

He read classics at Melbourne University, where he later gained its Litt.D.

To continue his education he came to Christ's College, Cambridge, and turned to the academic study of English. His bent was more to linguistics than to literary studies and he took up English philology as it was then expounded. He had a fine

ear for sounds and could not only detect shades of variation in the way nations pronounce, but had a gift for reproducing foreign pronunciations. His Russian, German, French and Italian had been called first-rate by natives. He enjoyed his phonetics teaching most of all, and the most literary use he made of his phonetic sensitiveness was in the study of metre.

After leaving Cambridge he was appointed Professor of English in the Tsarist University of St. Petersburg, a post he held until he came to Manchester in 1906, as Lecturer in English Language. He was made Professor in 1913.

He translated King Alfred's Version of Boëthius (1910). His "Place-names of Cumberland and Westmoreland" (1915) was pioneer work, but at a day before the modern technique had really been evolved. His main production was an edition of "Beowulf," which is still widely used.

His most memorable work in Manchester was not in English but in Russian. From 1907 to 1919 he was the University Lecturer in Russian, and it was largely by his enterprise that funds were raised to establish the Manchester Chair of Russian in 1920. His retirement in 1931 was soon to be clouded by the death of his wife.

We regret to have to record the death of Julian Edward Peacock, third son of Edward Peacock of Bottesford Manor, Lincolnshire, who was born on the 24th of September, 1861.

JULIAN PEACOCK
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Mr. Peacock, whose death occurred on the 22nd of February, 1945, had been in the service of the John Rylands Library, as senior library assistant since 1903, and during the succeeding forty-two years he had rendered valuable service to the library, and will be greatly missed not only by his colleagues on the staff, but also by the regular readers of the library, who constantly looked to him for guidance.

From 1891 to 1898 he was Librarian of New Westminster, British Columbia, and upon his return to this country in 1898 he worked under Mr. J. P. Edmond upon the Catalogue of the Library of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres at Haigh Hall.

In 1903 he was invited to join the staff of the Rylands



Library, where he had remained ever since. He leaves a widow and two daughters to mourn his loss, to whom we offer our most sincere sympathy.

Mr. Christopher Robert Cheney, M.A. (Oxford), has been appointed Professor of Mediæval History in the University of Manchester, in succession to Professor E. F. Jacob, who leaves Manchester to take up the first Research Fellowship at All Souls, Oxford.

Mr. Cheney entered Wadham College, Oxford, as Gibbs Scholar in History. After obtaining a First Class in the Final Honour School of Modern History he was elected to a senior scholarship and later to the Bryce Research Scholarship. In 1930-1931 Mr. Cheney was Lecturer in Mediæval History in the Egyptian University of Cairo, returning to act as a tutor in Wadham College. In 1932 he was appointed to an assistant lectureship in University College, London, coming to Manchester as Bishop Fraser Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History in the following year. Mr. Cheney returned to Oxford in 1937 as Reader in Diplomatic and in 1938 was elected to a Fellowship of Magdalen College, acting as tutor in history in Wadham, Balliol, and Exeter Colleges. In June, 1940, he undertook National Service from which he is shortly to be released.

His publications have included volumes of "Episcopal Visitation in the Thirteenth Century" (Manchester University Press, 1932) and "English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century" (1941). Since 1937 he has been Joint Literary Director of the Royal Historical Society and he has been one of the secretaries of the new edition of Wilkins's "Concilia." A large proportion of his work has been on the texts of Councils of the English Church in the Middle Ages, mainly in the thirteenth century.

At a recent degree ceremony of the Faculty of Arts, the Vice-Chancellor (Sir John Stopford) paid a well-merited tribute to Professor Jacob for the really great work he had done during the last fifteen years in the Manchester University, and for the way in which he had upheld the fine tradition of Manchester's great School of History, with its brilliant succession of historians whose names include Tout, Tait, Powicke and now Jacob.

The Rev. Dr. Laurence Edward Browne, M.A., D.D. (Cambridge), has been appointed to the Manchester <sup>COMPARATIVE</sup> Chair of Comparative Religion in succession to the <sup>RELIGION</sup> Rev. Dr. John Murphy, who will retire in September.

Dr. Browne took the Natural Sciences Tripos, Part I, at the University of Cambridge in 1908, and graduated B.A. in 1909. He passed the Theological Tripos, Part I, in 1910, and Part II in 1911, both in the First Class. In 1913 he took the degree of M.A., proceeding to the B.D. in 1920 and to the D.D. in 1934. During the time he was at Cambridge he was awarded the Scholefield University Prize, the Carus Greek Testament University Prize, and the Hulsean University Prize. After two years as a curate at Leicester, he became Lecturer and Fellow of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, which post he held from 1913 to 1920, and during part of this period he conducted educational work with the Y.M.C.A. in France. In 1921 he was appointed Lecturer at Bishops' College, Calcutta.

In 1925 Dr. Browne returned to this country and spent a year at Cambridge making a special study of Arabic, Persian, and Islamics. The following year was spent at the School of Oriental Studies, Cairo, and then a year at Constantinople, returning to Cambridge for a further year's study. From 1930 to 1934 he was Lecturer at the Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies, Lahore. At the present time he is Rector of Gayton, Northamptonshire, to which he was appointed in 1935. His publications include "Parables of the Gospels in the Light of Modern Criticism," "Early Judaism," "From Babylon to Bethlehem, the Story of the Jews for the Last Five Centuries before Christ," and "The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia, from the Time of Muhammad till the Fourteenth Century."

Dr. Harold Henry Rowley, M.A. (Bristol), D.D. (London), B.Litt. (Oxford), at present Professor of Semitic Languages in the University College, Bangor, has been appointed to the Manchester Chair of Semitic <sup>SEMITIC</sup> Languages and Literature in succession to Professor <sup>LANGUAGES</sup> Edward Robertson, who will retire, under the age limit, in <sup>AND LITERA-</sup> September, much to the regret of his colleagues and friends. <sup>TURES</sup>



Professor Rowley proceeded from Wyggeston School, Leicester, to Bristol Baptist College and Bristol University, and later to Mansfield College, Oxford. He was the holder of several scholarships and prizes, including the Elmslie Memorial Scholarship and the Houghton Syriac Prize. After five years in a pastoral charge in Somerset, he served under the Baptist Missionary Society in China from 1922 to 1930, being Associate-Professor of Old Testament Literature in the Shantung Christian University from 1924 to 1929. Dr. Rowley then returned to England and became an Assistant Lecturer in Semitic Languages at University College, Cardiff, in 1930.

He was appointed to the Chair of Semitic Languages at University College, Bangor, in 1935, and also became Lecturer in the History of Religions in 1940. Since 1936 he has been Dean of the Bangor School of Theology and was appointed Vice-Principal of the College in 1940.

Mr. Thomas B. W. Reid, M.A., LL.B. (Dublin), L.ès.L. (Montpellier), has been appointed to the Man- ROMANCE  
chester Chair of Romance Philology as from Sep- PHILOLOGY  
tember next. This Chair is in place of the Chair of French Language and Romance Philology, which has been vacant since 1939.

Mr. Reid graduated in Modern Languages (French and German) as First Senior Moderator in Trinity College, Dublin, and also proceeded to the degree of LL.B. in 1923. He was awarded a gold medal and various scholarships and prizes in law and languages. From 1924 to 1926 he was Lecteur d'Anglais at the University of Montpellier, where he obtained the Licence ès Lettres. He was appointed in 1929 as an Assistant Lecturer in French in this University, being promoted to a Lectureship in 1935.

The significance of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was discussed by Professor Leon Roth, Rector of the University, at a meeting held in Manchester on the 15th of March under the chairmanship of Professor M. Polanyi.

HEBREW  
UNIVERSITY  
OF  
JERUSALEM

Founded in 1918, said Professor Roth, the university had developed from a few isolated research institutions into a centre catering for 1,200 undergraduates with fully-organised Arts and Science faculties, and an agricultural department. It fulfilled the needs of the population of Jewish Palestine for teachers, doctors, technicians, and all the other trained personnel a community required. But it was not only becoming the cultural and scientific centre of Jewish Palestine, it was influencing and benefiting both the rest of Palestine and the neighbouring countries of the Near East. Moreover, it was becoming the centre for Jewish education and culture throughout the world, and there were already plans on foot for students at Jewish villages elsewhere to spend some period at the University of Jerusalem.

Professor Gilbert Murray's letter "to the Editor of *The Times*" in April last, on the teaching of Greek and Latin, is so timely, that we venture to reprint it. THE  
CLASSICS

Sir,—There is no reason to be shocked or even surprised by the suspicion of two elderly classical masters that their time in teaching Latin and Greek has been largely wasted. Whatever subject they had taught they would be apt to feel that suspicion. Indeed my own experience leads me to believe that for most average boys our whole public school education is too intellectual and not sufficiently manual. Lots of boys who are worried and made stupid by demands upon their intellects become interested and intelligent when set to work with their hands.

But the two schoolmasters' letters have set me asking myself why I value my imperfect knowledge of Greek and Latin more than anything else that I have learnt, why I find it so full of inspiration and so helpful in understanding things.

My chief intellectual interests in life have been, first, literature, especially poetry and drama. I find in Greek not only poetry and drama of extraordinary and unique beauty, but a key, as it were, to almost all later European literature. My next interest perhaps is in philosophy and religion; and when I see that, for example, Plato's "Republic" is still being constantly translated into most European languages—five times



recently into English—I can only conclude that thousands of people find it, as I do, a still vivid source of inspiration, much more alive than most modern books. I feel much the same, or even more, about the writings of St. Paul and the great Stoics. Next I would put the practical problems of what Aristotle calls “the good life” for man and for a free society; here again I find in Greek the first imperfect but inspiring efforts of the human mind to understand the problems of civic or social life and to find the best path forward towards the great aim of man, *Ἀρετή* or *Δικαιοσύνη*.

Not to make too great a demand on your space, I say nothing about art, nothing about the educational value of learning a highly inflected language, nothing even about the lessons, vital to Englishmen, which Rome can teach us about law, empire, and world order. But one of the lessons driven home to me by my League of Nations experience is that, after all, Latin is the mother tongue of European civilisation, and the inspiration of most of its law and its literature. If Europe is to recover from its present ruin it can best do so by recalling its origins and regaining its unity of mental and moral culture.

To return to Greek, I know no subject of study which, in such small compass, bears such precious and such varied fruits. I doubt if Sir Henry Maine was much exaggerating when he said that in the modern world “there is nothing that moves that is not Greek.”

Yours obediently,  
GILBERT MURRAY.

In the belief that the great majority of children should be given the opportunity of an acquaintance with Latin, THE VALUE OF LATIN the Council of the Classical Association have issued a leaflet in which they give the reasons for their belief:

1. The Latin language has been the main vehicle of Western culture. To a first-hand knowledge of the creeds, codes, laws, literature, philosophy, and science of Western Europe, considered in their historical development, it remains an indispensable key. At the present time, when great social changes are impending, it is more than ever necessary that men and women should have

a clear understanding of the path by which they have already come. This is impossible without Latin. Latin Culture is not an obstacle to modern knowledge, but a necessary element in it. Our civilisation will lose in breadth and depth, in stability and richness, if it is severed from its Latin roots.

2. The linguistic training of Latin, emphasising as it does constant processes of analysis and synthesis, teaches clarity and precision of thought, lucidity of expression in English, and, in particular, the ability to distinguish the thought and the form in which it is expressed. The position of Latin is unique in this respect because, more than any other language likely to be studied, it involves the translation not of single words but of ideas.

3. Not only is a knowledge of Latin indispensable as a scientific basis of European language studies, but we believe the training that it involves to be of unrivalled assistance towards the subsequent study of almost any new subject.

We therefore think that, not only because of the possibility of the pupil's transference and for the other reasons implied above, but also in view of future developments in Modern Language and English degree course at the University, facilities should, wherever possible, be provided for every child who will profit by it to take a Latin and/or Greek course of at least two years. But as we realise that all cannot (or should not) reach the standard of a School Certificate in Latin, we suggest that at the end of two years there should be an alternative course which lays stress on content rather than on language.

We recommend the widest familiarity with the ancient classics (Greek and Latin) in translation, in all types of schools. But we insist that the fullest education comes from a knowledge of the original.

A recent discovery in the Cheshire library of Major Ireland-Blackburne, of Appleton Hall, near Warrington, has been described by Mr. G. L. Brook in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*.

MIDDLE  
ENGLISH  
POETRY

It is a manuscript containing English poetry of the fourteenth century, and is of considerable interest, says Mr. Brook, for



manuscripts on which we depend for our knowledge of early English literature have been searched for and catalogued with such thoroughness, chiefly by American scholars, that it is only rarely that a new one comes to light. Most of the existing manuscripts dating from earlier than the fifteenth century have been absorbed into the great national collections; the manuscript which has now come to light is one of the small (and dwindling) number still in private hands.

Although its contents are not perhaps of great literary value, they are of interest to the historian and the student of changes of taste. The work which forms the bulk of the manuscript is the "Prick of Conscience"—a new piece of evidence of the remarkable popularity of this work in the fourteenth century. The contemporary popularity of a mediæval work may be roughly gauged by the number of early manuscripts which have survived. While we are dependent on a single manuscript for some of the Middle English works which are most highly prized to-day, such as "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" and "Pearl," more than a hundred manuscripts of the "Prick of Conscience" have been preserved, including one in the Rylands Library and one in the Chetham Library in Manchester. It has to be remembered, of course, that works of devotion had a much better chance of survival than secular literature at a time when monasteries were the chief storehouses of manuscripts, but even so the popularity of the "Prick of Conscience" is remarkable.

Lastly, and most important, one of the poems in the manuscript appears to be unique and unpublished. It is a poem of 200 lines dealing with the Day of Judgment, with the title, "The Lamentation of Saint Anselm."

The manuscript consists of 120 leaves of vellum measuring  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in. by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. It is written in English, with rubrics in Latin, in a late fourteenth-century hand. Some of the pages are illuminated. It has been in the possession of Major Ireland-Blackburne's family for many years, and is mentioned in a history of the family by Harriet Elizabeth Blackburne which was privately printed at Liverpool in 1881. It has not been noticed by the bibliographers of early English manuscripts, Carleton Brown, Professor J. E. Wells, and Miss Hope Emily Allen, although

another manuscript in the same library containing metrical romances is well known under the name of the Ireland Manuscript and was edited by John Robson for the Camden Society in 1842.

Besides the poems already mentioned, the manuscript contains a version of the Seven Penitential Psalms, another popular devotional work. It is notable that all the poems are associated in some way with Richard Rolle, the hermit and mystic of Hampole, in Yorkshire, who exerted a good deal of influence on the religious literature of the first half of the fourteenth century, with the result that a large part of it, including the "Prick of Conscience," has at one time or another been ascribed to him.

The attribution of the unpublished poem to St. Anselm does not necessarily mean that the Lamentation is a translation of any particular work of Anselm's, since it was a common mediæval practice to ascribe didactic works to some great teacher in order to give them the weight of authority. There is no work with a similar title among Anselm's works as printed in Migne's "Patrologia," but the theme of the poem was a common one. Links between Anselm and the school of Rolle are fairly common; Latin works are attributed to Anselm in some manuscripts and to Rolle in others, and a very popular prose prayer often ascribed to Rolle is translated from one of the Meditations of Anselm.

The newly discovered manuscript thus has its place in the literary movement of which Richard Rolle was the founder, though none of its contents can be definitely ascribed to him.

The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty has just attained its jubilee, and in celebration of the occasion a luncheon was held <sup>A LINK WITH SHAKESPEARE</sup> at the Dorchester, Park Lane, London, when Lord Zetland, the chairman, announced that Sir Montgomerie Fairfax-Lucy had offered to present to the Trust Charlecote Park, near Stratford-on-Avon.

The gift includes the house with many of its historical and valuable contents, the library and the park of over 200 acres, with its deer and Spanish sheep.

An endowment fund to meet the cost of maintenance is



necessary, and an appeal is being made for £25,000 for this purpose.

Charlecote has been Lucy property since the twelfth century. The present house was built for the Lucy family about 1558 and the brick and stone dressed gatehouse was reputedly built by John of Padua. This and other parts of the old house will be opened to the public as soon as the Trust can make the necessary arrangements. It is hoped that these can be completed by early next year. The rooms contain many fine furnishings, including some things which have associations with Queen Elizabeth and the Lucy in whose park Shakespeare is said to have poached, and who is said to be portrayed as Justice Shallow. An edition dated 1619 of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, in which play Shakespeare caricatured Sir Thomas Lucy, believed to have been in the house since its publication, is to be exhibited on loan.

The house was fairly extensively altered in the eighteenth century, and it is part of the arrangement that the Fairfax-Lucy family are to become tenants of a wing added at that time.

Lord Zetland also announced that Flint Cottage, Box Hill, Surrey, has been presented to the Trust by Mrs. Ralph Wood, subject to her life interest. There will be no access for the public at present. Flint Cottage was for forty years the home of George Meredith. The gift is made in memory of Mr. Ralph Wood, who was for many years chairman of the Box Hill Committee.

Dr. G. M. Trevelyan, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, speaking on the occasion, said the future of the Trust would be as important as the path of glory it had already trodden. It was a mistake to suppose that national parks and national planning would render its work superfluous. There was a democratic demand and a spiritual need that the beauty of our island should be preserved. The physiological health and the whole imaginative and spiritual health of our nation depended in great measure on the Trust's success.

CHETHAM SOCIETY.—The Annual General Meeting of the Chetham Society was held in the Manchester University Library on the 25th May. This Society has a membership of 186, a

small increase on the pre-war membership. There were seven new members enrolled during the year 1944-1945.

The President (Dr. E. F. Jacob) reported that during the past year a second volume of "A Middlewich Cartulary" had been published. A number of volumes are at present in course of preparation including a work by the Rev. J. S. Leatherbarrow on "Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants," and a new Chetham Miscellany. The latter will contain articles by Professor V. H. Galbraith, who has undertaken to write a short sketch of the work of the late Professor Tait for Local History; Dr. G. H. Tupling on the Royal and Seigniorial Bailiffs of Lancashire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a study that breaks new ground in its examination of the relations between royal and private jurisdiction; Major Houghton on the Ribble Salmon Fisheries, in which the author draws copiously upon the records preserved in the County Record Office at Preston, in particular for the Farington accounts; and Mr. A. J. Hawkes on "Sir Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh, Knight and Baronet, 1628-1684, with notes on his immediate Forbears," an expansion of a paper read by Mr. Hawkes as President to the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society in January, 1944.

At a recent meeting at the Royal Society of Arts, Mr. Fred H. Andrews pointed out that it was a queer paradox that Britain, having greater interest and wider contacts with the East than any other country, seemed perhaps the most indifferent to the desirability of demonstrating the great achievements of those people, the influence of their culture upon ours, and the extent of our indebtedness to them.

ORIENTAL  
CENTRE FOR  
LONDON

To remedy this he advocated the establishment in London of an Oriental centre which should combine the functions of the societies interested in the East with a museum and a social centre. The centre might be made an attractive focal point for visitors, providing rooms for private consultations and committee meetings. It should be a rendezvous for Orientals and Westerners, where friendly intercourse in congenial surroundings would promote knowledge and understanding of each other. Scholars, students, and laymen of all countries would be at-



tracted by the comprehensiveness and scientific disposition of the exhibits in the museum, its efficient library, and general amenities for study.

He visualised the centre architecturally as a dignified group of buildings, perhaps in the form of a quadrangle, with the museum as the central component with flanking wings to accommodate the societies, each to have its own entrance. The societies would retain their complete independence of administration. He considered Bloomsbury to be the most suitable district.

On the first anniversary (15th March) of what perhaps was the biggest air raid of the war on a limited target, <sup>MONTE</sup> the citizens of Cassino returned to their utterly de- <sup>CASSINO</sup>stroyed town to welcome the Italian Cabinet, the Pope's representative, and representatives of the Allied Governments (the American, Soviet and French Ambassadors) for a simple ceremony.

About three thousand peasants, sunburnt from their daily work in the surrounding fields, gathered in the dust, rubble, and pools of stagnant water that once were Cassino.

One bit of the town had been levelled, and there a small platform was erected from which Cassino's new mayor introduced first the Italian Minister of Public Works, Ruini, who told the people that Cassino had two enemies—malaria and mines. Even while he was talking mines were being exploded, some of the thousands which are still to be gathered in, and bangs and columns of smoke went up reminding one of the flying bombs, so big are these mines.

The next speaker, in English, was the American Ambassador, Mr. Kirk, who said that he was standing on ground hallowed by the sacrifice of the United Nations and expressed faith in Italy's rebirth. He ended with the words "Viva l'Italia!" to which the whole crowd responded "Viva l'America!"

The Premier, Signor Bonomi, then spoke words of encouragement to the rebuilders of Cassino and was greeted with prolonged cheers. Only the lower half of the town is being rebuilt. The upper half is to stay as one of the most terrible monuments of

war that is imaginable. There is no street recognisable, and among the tangled mass of masonry and girders are the entrances to those famous tunnels in which the Germans hid themselves between 15th March and 18th May, when the city was finally taken.

The Pope's representative, Mgr. Costantini, then thanked Italy's friends in America for their help in reconstruction, and went up with the Italian Cabinet to the jagged ruins of the famous monastery on the hill to lay the first stone of the new monastery.

Three rows of semi-detached concrete houses for sixty families and a new Government co-operative store are also being opened. In the midst of so much ruin one was struck by the healthy appearance of the peasants, some of whom walked miles to attend the ceremony, and many had again put on their old partisan uniforms.

We are most grateful to Dom Romanus Rios for so readily consenting to follow up the interesting article on "Subiaco" which he contributed to our last issue, and which gave intense pleasure to so many of our readers, by an article in the present issue on that most famous of all the Benedictine Houses, "Monte Cassino, 529-1944."

Lieutenant-Colonel Geoffrey Webb, Chief of the Fine Arts Section at S.H.A.E.F., former Professor of Fine Arts at Cambridge University, reports that one-fifth of all the major art treasures in the world have been recovered from the Germans.

RECOVERY  
OF ART  
TREASURES

They were found by Anglo-American experts in 580 widely dispersed depots throughout Germany, ranging up to 4,000 cases in the largest store so far uncovered. Many of the depots were in deep mines and abandoned castles. Their value is incalculable.

A few world famous objects appeared to be missing, the chief being the great altar-piece from Cracow, but this might prove to be in Allied hands when a complete inventory comes to be made. France of all the Allied countries seems to have suffered worst. The Germans did not raid national collections, but took a heavy toll of private collections belonging to Jews and Freemasons.



A "Task Force Rosenberg" under the Reich Minister of Culture, combed Paris, and the Rothschild families were probably the heaviest losers.

The main problem of the S.H.A.E.F. arts division was the careful transportation of all the recovered treasures to a central point, where they could be classified and returned to the Governments from which they were taken. The Governments would have to deal with private claims which would probably take many years to decide.

The principal treasures of the Rylands Library, consisting of the most important of the manuscripts, jewelled bindings, enamels, incunabula and other precious printed books and bindings, which for four and a half years have been banished to places of safety for the duration of the war, are being restored to their accustomed places upon the shelves of the library.

THE  
RYLANDS  
TREASURES

This note is preliminary to the revival of the "Exhibition of Mediæval Manuscripts and Jewelled Book Covers" which had been arranged in the exhibition cases in the Main Library to signalise the visit of the members of the Historical Association on the occasion of the holding of their annual meeting in Manchester.

Scarcely had the arrangement of the exhibits in the cases been completed than the bombs began to fall upon Manchester, and it was deemed advisable to dismantle the exhibition and transfer the exhibits, together with other important treasures from the library shelves, to places of safety, which had been generously placed at the service of the library, whence they have now returned in perfect condition, thanks to the watchful care that had been bestowed upon them in their temporary homes.

It is not possible, within the limits of a short note, to convey anything like an adequate idea of the importance of the library's collection of manuscripts, and jewelled book-covers, including, as they do, examples of royal provenance, as having been written by or for some royal personage, or as having belonged to them.

The jewels alone with which some of these bindings have been enriched form a very varied collection, including many

classical gems. These, together with the ivories and the Limoges enamel and other plaques, impart to them a richness which must be seen to be appreciated.

The manuscripts alone possess special interest from the fact that they furnish examples of the work of some of the most famous mediæval writing schools and famous scribes, but the famous scribes took pride in their work, not for their own personal fame, but for the fame of the house with which they were associated, and of which they formed part. Hence it was that at St Gall, Orleans, Metz, Prüm, Rheims, Tours, Trier, Paris, St. Albans, Winchester, and Lindisfarne, among other places, great writing schools were established, and in the manuscripts that have come down to us from these great schools we find evidence of a union of the arts.

The Royal Manuscripts include: The Emperor Otto the Great's Gospel Book, Queen Joan of Navarre's Psalter, the Duchess of Berry's Bible, King Charles VII's Book of Hours, Mary, Queen of Scots' Book of Hours, King Henry VII's Prayer Book, Queen Elizabeth's Gospel Book, Queen Elizabeth's New Year Gifts, and manuscripts from the library of the King of Oude, of the Sultan of Morocco, or written by a Sultan of Arabia, and by a Sultan of Morocco.

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the Library since the publication of our last issue.

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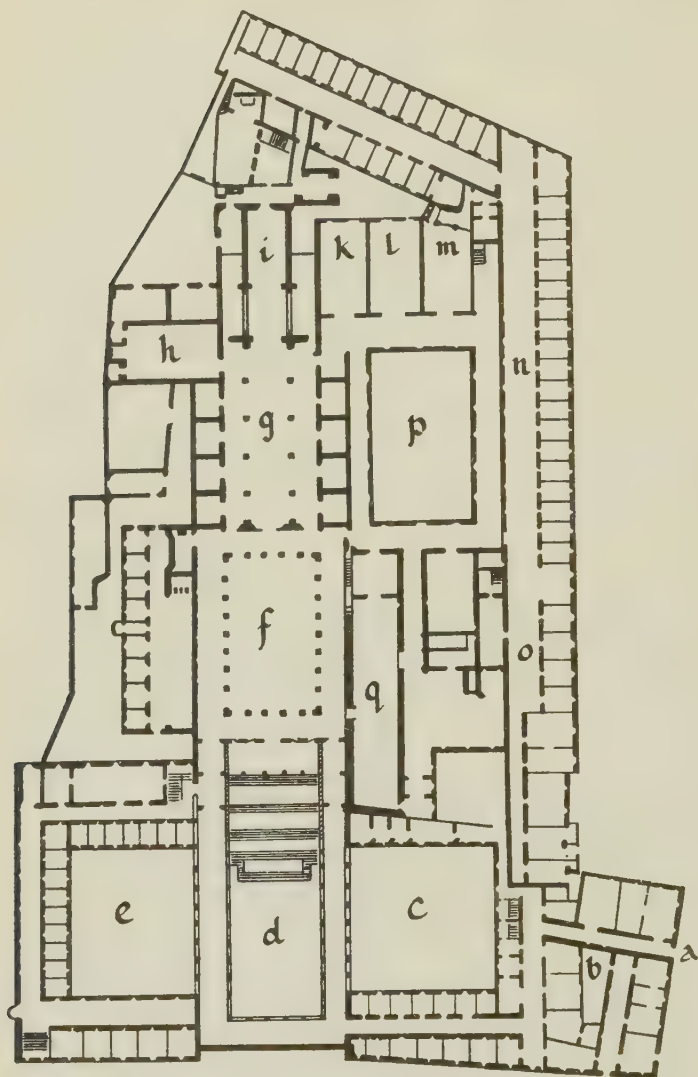
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# plan of Montecassino



- |                          |                        |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
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| b. "La Torretta"         | k. Chapter             |
| c. Guest House           | l. Old Library         |
| d. "Loggia del Paradiso" | m. Picture Gallery     |
| e. College               | n. New Library         |
| f. Benefactors' Cloister | o. Archives            |
| g. Basilica              | p. Prior's Cloister    |
| h. Sacristy              | q. Refectory           |

## MONTE CASSINO 529-1944

By DOM ROMANUS RIOS, O.S.B.

*Mons bone, salveris pacis dator atque quietis,  
Qui facilis regni via crederis esse superni.*

(Alfanus, monk of Monte Cassino, d. 1085—  
Cod. Cassin, 280, XI cent.).

THE Editor of the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY has asked the present writer to follow up the article on Subiaco, published in the last number of this review, with another on Monte Cassino. The attractiveness of such a theme to a Benedictine monk has succeeded in outweighing the diffidence which one naturally feels in trying to cover so vast a field in a short article, and so, for better or worse, we have attempted in the following pages to give a necessarily inadequate outline of the history of the most famous of all monasteries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—The principal sources for the history of the abbey during the Middle Ages are the writings of Paul the Deacon, Leo of Ostia and Peter the Deacon—all monks of Monte Cassino. They may be found, with additions of his own up to the year 1725, in *Abbot Erasmus Gattola, Historia Abbatiae Cassinensis per saeculorum seriem distributa, qua Leonis Chronicon a Petro Diacono ad annum MCXXXVIII continuatum in plerisque suppletur, et ad haec nostra tempora . . . producitur*. 2 vol. in fol., Venice, 1723-1725. Abbot Luigi Tosti, O.S.B., Cassinese. *Storia della Badia di Montecassino*, 3 vol. in 8vo, Naples, 1842. Dom Andrew Caravita, O.S.B., Cassinese. *I Codici e le Arti a Montecassino*. 3 vol., Montecassino, 1869-1870. C. L. Torelli. *Montecassino nella Storia e nell'Arte*, Reggio d'Emilia, 1916. John Minozzi. *Montecassino nella Storia del Rinascimento*, Vol. I (the only one published), Rome, 1925. Excellent and most informative. From pages vii to xx there is a copious bibliography on the subject. A. Mirra. *La Poesia di Montecassino*. Naples, 1929. Dom Th. Leccisotti, O.S.B., Cassinese. *Montecassino*, in *L'Italia Benedettina*, Rome, 1929, pp. 1-40. Dom Ph. Schmitz, O.S.B. *Le Mont-Cassin et son histoire*, in *Mélanges publiées . . . a l'occasion du XIV Centenaire de la fondation du Mont-Cassin*, Maredsous, 1929. Moreover, there are the numerous publications of the present archivist of the abbey, the Maltese Dom Maurus Inguanez, a professed monk of Monte Cassino.

On February 15, 1944, the Fifth Army surrounding Cassino shelled and bombed the Benedictine monastery which crowned the mountain and which was being used, it was stated, as an artillery observation post by the enemy. In a few hours the



glorious and historic buildings were reduced to a heap of rubble. The news of this tragedy came as a shock to the whole civilized world and from every quarter there came expressions of regret. That the abbey which during fourteen centuries has stood as a symbol of peace should fall a victim to military necessity is a sad commentary on the character of present-day warfare. The question as to whether the destruction of Monte Cassino was militarily justifiable must, of course, be argued before the bar of history. Here we are concerned only with the past, with its alternating lights and shadows, of this world-famed monastery.

This is not the first time that Monte Cassino has been reduced to its present condition. Indeed each of the six periods into which the history of the abbey may be conveniently divided closes with either a total or a partial destruction of the monastic buildings. The periods are :—

(i) 529-581 : from the foundation of the abbey by St. Benedict to its first destruction by the Lombards ;

(ii) 717-884 : from its first restoration by St. Petronax to the martyrdom of Abbot St. Bertharius and his monks by the Saracens ;

(iii) 949-1239 : Golden period. From the second restoration under Abbot Aligernus to the expulsion of the monks by the German Emperor Frederick II.

(iv) 1266-1505 : from the third return of the monks to the incorporation of the abbey into the Congregation of St. Justina ;

(v) 1505-1799 : The Congregational period to the pillage of the abbey by the Napoleonic army ;

(vi) 1800-1944 : the final period of restoration till the recent destruction.

# I

Monte Cassino is styled in monastic parlance the *Archicoenobium*, that is, the principal abbey, the archabbey ; because it was the most important abbey founded by St. Benedict, the Sinai in fact of the Benedictine Order. The traditional date of its foundation is the year 529 ; others prefer the year 525. Its founder, St. Benedict, was born at Nursia, c. 480, and while studying law in Rome, determined to become a hermit and retired to Subiaco, c. 500. Here he very soon became the abbot

of a group of thirteen small monasteries dispersed all over the Simbruine mountains. The Roman nobility sent him their children to be trained in the monastic life and a prosperous future seemed to be assured, when the jealousy of a priest compelled the Saint to quit the place, and this gave rise to the foundation of Monte Cassino. Nevertheless, it seems probable that the idea of migrating was already in St. Benedict's mind, since he had evidently already conceived larger plans for the development of his monastic ideal.

Monte Cassino stands almost half-way between Rome and Naples—a bold spur of the Abruzzi Apennines thrust into the fertile plain of the Campania Felix. The Via Latina skirts the mountain, and the Liris and the Garigliano thread their way through the fertile fields at its foot. The small town of Cassino is situated half-way up the mountain. On the top of the mountain the Romans had built a citadel—*Arx Cassini*. During the second half of the fifth century the German Goths had sent down to Italy horde after horde of invaders. After pillaging cities and hamlets, including Rome, they partially destroyed Cassino, c. 490. The citadel too was left in ruins. When St. Benedict arrived there the fortress had been turned into a temple dedicated to Apollo. It is clear from what followed that the whole mountain had become the property of the Saint—tradition says that it was given to him by the Roman Senator Tertullus, father of St. Placid, one of the children trained at Subiaco. St. Benedict's first act was to destroy the pagan temple and to erect in its place two oratories, one to St. John the Baptist and the other to St. Martin, the great exemplars respectively of eremitical and cenobitical life.

At Monte Cassino he finished the writing of the Holy Rule and spent the rest of his life, his death occurring c. 550. From Monte Cassino he founded a monastery at Terracina and another in Rome, St. Pancras, close to the Lateran Basilica. Before his death, in a prophetic vision recorded by St. Gregory the Great,<sup>1</sup> he saw and foretold the destruction of his own beloved abbey. His remains, together with those of his sister St. Scholastica who

<sup>1</sup> *II Dial.*, xvii.

had lived near the abbey as a nun under his direction, were laid to rest in the oratory of the monastery.

Of St. Benedict's disciples at Monte Cassino we know nothing beyond the bare names of his immediate successors in the abbatial dignity: St. Constantine (d. c. 565), St. Simplicius (d. c. 575), St. Vitalis (d. c. 579) and St. Bonitus (d. after 582). The first two are mentioned by St. Gregory the Great<sup>1</sup>; Paul the Deacon is the authority for Vitalis and Bonitus.<sup>2</sup> Under the last mentioned the first destruction of the monastery took place. In the year 581, the Lombards—or Longobards—coming from Beneventum and led by Duke Zoto (Zotto, Zotton) climbed the sacred mountain, plundered it thoroughly and set fire to the buildings. The monks fled to Rome, where they were sure of a welcome from their brethren at St. Pancras. Pope Pelagius II received them with paternal kindness.

From 581 to 717 no monks lived at Monte Cassino. The abbey remained in ruins. In 672, or thereabouts, a party of French monks coming from Fleury-sur-Loire arrived at Monte Cassino and succeeded in carrying to their abbey—hence called St. Benoît-sur-Loire—the remains of St. Benedict and St. Scholastica.<sup>3</sup> It seems that towards the end of this period of desolation a few hermits gathered together in the ruins of the archabbey.<sup>4</sup>

## II

Meanwhile, chiefly under the impulse of Pope St. Gregory the Great, the Benedictine observance had spread throughout England, the Netherlands, the Germanies and elsewhere and had found its way back to Italy, where during the seventh century it flourished exceedingly in such great abbeys as Farfa, Novalesse, Civate, Nonantola, San Vincenzo al Volturno, Bobbio and St. Peter *in ciel d'Oro* at Pavia, besides the group of some ten Roman abbeys established in the neighbourhood of the Lateran and the Vatican. Naturally all these far-flung communities turned their eyes towards the ruins of Monte Cassino as towards a

<sup>1</sup> *II Dial.*, i.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Longobardorum*, iv, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *inter alios*, Dom H. Leclercq, article *Fleury* in *Dict. d'Archéol. et de Lit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Per tutto il secolo VII a Montecassino non vi furono cha alcuni eremiti.* Dom. M. Inguanes, art. *Montecassino* in *Enciclopedia Italiana*.



desolate Mother, and ultimately the Pope himself, St. Gregory II, undertook the restoration of the archabbey.

The Pope entrusted this task to a nobleman of Brescia who had professed the Benedictine Rule at San Vincenzo al Volturno, Petronax by name. St. Petronax began the work of restoration in 717 (or 718). Soon candidates from all quarters applied to be received, with the result that the community gathered under St. Petronax was unmistakably international in character.<sup>1</sup> Thus, from 729 to 739, we find the Englishman St. Willibald helping to drill the new community in the Benedictine observance which he had professed and practised in England. Then there were the Frenchman Tielbert, an unnamed Spanish monk who had escaped from the scimitar of the Arab invaders of his land, and the German Sturmi, sent by St. Boniface to learn the genuine Benedictine way of life. This is one of the great periods in the history of the Mother-abbey. Pope St. Zachary himself came from Rome to dedicate the new abbey church in 748, and presented the monks with the official codex of the Holy Rule which had been kept in the papal archives.

After the death of St. Petronax (762), the strict observance introduced at the restoration continued unchanged as did also the prestige of the abbey in the eyes of the leading Christian families of Europe. This is illustrated by the monastic profession of such men as St. Carloman (d. 754-55), King of Austrasia and uncle of Charlemagne, and Bl. Ratchis (d. end of VIII cent.), King of the Lombards.

Two saintly abbots, St. Apollinaris (817-828) and his immediate successor, St. Deusdedit (826-834), belong to this period. The latter was the victim of the tyrant Sicardus of Beneventum, who, in order to extort money from the abbey, ill-treated him "and cast him into prison, where", according to the Roman Martyrology (Oct. 9), "he gave up the ghost, overcome by hunger and labours." He was much loved by the poor on account of his generous almsgiving. Under such leaders Monte Cassino became the ideal Mother-abbey. The community, a large one, consisted of Latins, Northerners and Byzantines. The Greek-speaking element was so numerous that for many decades the

<sup>1</sup> Mabillon, *Acta SS. O.S.B.*, iii, II, 177.

daily office was recited in the abbey choir in both Latin and Greek.

A name that shed undying lustre on the archabbey at this period is that of Paul Warnefrid, better known as Paul the Deacon (d. 799), chancellor at the court of Desiderius, the last King of the Lombards. In 780 he was professed a monk at Monte Cassino and eventually became the secretary of Charlemagne and his close friend. He was one of the greatest historians of his century and indeed of all times, as well as a gifted poet. He left behind a "historical" and "poetical" tradition at the abbey which lasted for centuries. Hilderic, another Cassinese monk and poet, was Paul's immediate disciple.

It is from this period onward through the Middle Ages that Monte Cassino stands in a place apart in the history of classical texts. The abbey has been described with good reason as "the centre for the transmission of the Latin and Greek Classics".<sup>1</sup> In fact several important texts have been preserved exclusively by the Cassinese monks.<sup>2</sup>

With the first restoration of Monte Cassino begins the procession of illustrious pilgrims to the abbey. During the VIII century the list comprises the following names: Pope St. Zachary, St. Pirminius of Reichenau, St. Ludger of Werden, St. Anselm of Nonantola, St. Adhalard of Corvey and last, by no means least, the redoubtable Charlemagne, who ever after remained a fast friend of the monks. He, together with the Lombard King Desiderius and Gisulph II of Beneventum, heaped privileges and grants of land on the abbey, thus originating its rich patrimony, called *Terra Sancti Benedicti*—St. Benedict's land.

The period closes with the martyrdom of Abbot St. Bartharius together with a numerous group of his monks. From the year 845 onwards Italy was harassed by the repeated raids of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. M. Inguanez, *L'Opera conservatrice degli Amanuensi Cassinesi*, Monte Cassino, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> They comprise the following: Varro's *De Lingua Latina*; Tacitus's Books XI-XVI of the *Annales*, I and V of the *Historiae*; Apuleius's *Metamorphosis*, *Asinus Aureus*, *Florida*; Servius's *De Metris Horatianis*; Frontinus's *De Aquaeductis Urbis Romae*; Cicero's *Oratio pro Cluentio*. Cf. Dom Inguanez, *op. cit.*; E. A. Lowe, *The Unique Manuscript of Tacitus Histories*, in *Miscellanea di Studi Cassinesi*, Montecassino, 1929, p. 257-272.

the Northern African Arabs. On October 22nd of the year 883 (884? 889?) Abbot Bertharius, a Frenchman by birth (856-? 883), was slain at the very altar, and with him many others—*plurimi socii*. St. Bertharius was an ecclesiastical writer of great distinction.<sup>1</sup> Among other things he wrote a *Life of St. Benedict* in classical hexameters.

The rest of the Cassinese community escaped to Teano taking with them the Codex of the Holy Rule presented to the abbey by Pope St. Zachary. Unfortunately a few years later (896) this Codex perished in the flames which destroyed their temporary abode at Teano—a disaster aptly symbolizing the fate of the monastic observance amidst all these troubles. In 914 the monks took refuge in Capua. Here, like Hannibal's soldiers of old, they relaxed somewhat from the rigour of the Rule. On the advice of St. Odo of Cluny, Pope Agapitus II (946-955) entreated Prince Landolph to order the monks back to the sacred Mountain. This was done in 949 and a new era, in fact the golden period of the abbey, dawned for Monte Cassino.

### III

There is a picturesque medieval legend which pithily sums up the part played by Monte Cassino in the life of the Church from the XI to the XIII century. A party of pilgrims from Southern Italy were journeying to Rome by the Via Latina. A day's journey from the Eternal City they met St. Peter who was travelling southward, and asked him whither he was going. "The wars", he answered, "had driven me from Rome, and I am bound for Monte Cassino to find peace in the home of St. Benedict." This indeed happened more than once during the period under review.

The second revival of Benedictine life in the archabbey was accomplished under the Ven. Aligernus, abbot from 946 to 986, who for this reason, and for many others besides, deserves the title of third Founder of Monte Cassino. His successor, Manso by name (986-996), adopted the style of living of a *grand seigneur*, with the result that he greatly scandalized St. Nilus who at that time paid a visit to the abbey, as well as a section of the



community, who accordingly withdrew to Florence where they founded St. Mary's, called to this day *La Badia*. Things improved under subsequent abbots, and the archicoenobium joined whole heartedly in the monastic revival of the XI century and entered into close relations with Cluny.

The heyday of Monte Cassino lasted from 1050 to 1120. During this time three Cassinese monks were elected to the Papacy, and the abbey itself became in a sense a secondary headquarters of the Popes. Frederick of Lorraine, originally a monk of St. Vanne, was summoned by Pope St. Leo IX to the papal service. He became the Pope's chancellor and favourite travelling companion, as also librarian of the Roman Church. Later he was sent to Constantinople as one of the three Legates to Michael Celurarius. On his return in 1057 he was made abbot of Monte Cassino, but he had scarcely entered upon his office when he was elected Pope (Stephen IX, or X). He died in 1058.

He was succeeded in the abbatial chair by Desiderius (1058-1087), after St. Benedict the most outstanding of the Cassinese abbots. A scion of the ducal family of Beneventum, he determined early in life to become a monk. His relatives objected and actually tore the religious habit from his back, but he found his way back to the cloister and eventually, c. 1054, settled permanently at Monte Cassino. In 1058, besides being raised to the abbacy, he was also created Cardinal and papal Vicar for Southern Italy, with the faculty to appoint prelates to vacant bishoprics and abbeys. At the abbey itself his greatest undertaking was the erection of a new church on truly royal lines. It was built in the Basilican style, and according to Leo of Ostia, who gives us a minute description of it, there was nothing to be compared with it for richness in Western Europe. Desiderius hired expert craftsmen from Amalfi, then the commercial entrepôt between East and West, and even from remote Constantinople, and desired them to teach his young monks to work in gold, silver, glass, ivory, enamel and mosaic. The Church was rapidly completed and was magnificent beyond every expectation, being regarded by contemporaries as one of the wonders of Christendom. Abbot Desiderius invited Pope Alexander II

to consecrate it personally in 1071. Meanwhile the great abbot was being employed by the Pope in manifold legations in which his talents were used to the full. It was as the Legate of Pope St. Gregory VII that Desiderius once told the German Emperor to his face and before his courtiers: "By the mercy of God, never again shall a Roman Pontiff be made by a German King". On the death of Gregory VII (d. 1085), Desiderius himself was unanimously elected pope, but no consideration could induce him to accept the dignity. Two years passed before he gave his consent. He was consecrated on May the 9th, 1087, and took the name of Victor III. Even so, he did not give up his residence at Monte Cassino, where he died on September 16th of the same year. His name is mentioned in the Roman Martyrology, and his cult was officially sanctioned by Popes Benedict XIII and Leo XIII. His tomb is—or was?—in the abbey church. To this day at Monte Cassino he is rarely referred to as Pope St. Victor III, but almost invariably as *L'Abate Desiderio*.

His successor as abbot was Bl. Oderisius I (1087-1105), who was also a Cardinal. He is known to history on account of his mediation between the Crusaders and the Emperor Alexius. St. Bruno, bishop of Segni, was abbot from 1107 to 1111: he is perhaps even better known as a theological writer. Among the many other saints and scholars produced by the abbey during this period we should mention first of all the third pope of the archabbey: Gelasius II (1118-1119). John Coniulo was a native of Gaeta and a monk from his early years. He was called to the Roman curia, where he was engaged in secretarial work, introducing new and very efficient methods. He became the chancellor and trusted adviser of his predecessors in the Roman See. He was a man of saintly life. "There seems to be no reason", writes J. F. Loughlin,<sup>1</sup> "why the Benedictine Order should not take up his case for canonization." Other Cassinese Saints of this age were: St. Amicus (d. 1045), who died a hermit at Avellano in the Abruzzi; St. John the Apulian (d. 1055), chosen abbot of St. George at Lucca; St. Aldemar the Wise (d. c. 1060), a famous wonder-worker—*insignis thaumaturgus*—who died abbot of Bocchanico in the Abruzzi; St. Guinizo

<sup>1</sup> In the Catholic Encyclopaedia, art. *Gelasius II*.

(d. c. 1080), a Spaniard by birth, and his disciple St. Januarius (d. c. 1080); St. Alphanus (d. 1085), archbishop of Salerno, styled the Cassinese Virgil on account of his polished Latin lyrics, and even more remarkable as a writer on medicine—*De Quatuor Humoribus Corporis humani*, etc.; Blessed Gibizo (d. c. 1090), a native of Cologne, sent by Gregory VII as Papal Legate to Croatia; St. John (d. 1094), bishop of Marano, near Nusco; St. Benedict (d. after 1112), chosen bishop of Doglia in Sardinia by Pope Urban II; St. Lindanus (d. 1118), founder of St. Cecilia in Sezze, who deserves well of civilization for his draining of the Pontine Marshes; St. Bernard Paleara—or Berard Corsini—(d. 1122), bishop of Teramo.

The procession of saintly pilgrims, especially Benedictines, to the home of St. Benedict, continued uninterrupted: St. Nilus of Grottaferrata, St. John of Gorze, St. Romuald of Ravenna, the Emperor St. Henry II, who wished to remain as a monk, St. Odilo of Cluny, St. Adalbert of Prague, St. Peter Damian, St. William of Montevergine, St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

The list of the men of letters produced by the abbey during these centuries is also very remarkable. Some have been already mentioned. Other writers equally illustrious were: Constantine the African (lolt-c. 1087), born at Carthage, the founder of the school of medicine of Salerno, whose contribution to medical literature was very considerable; Amatus of Salerno (d. 1093), the historian of the Normans in Italy; Leo the Marsican (1045-c. 1118), *alias Leo Oastiensis*, librarian and archivist of the Mother-abbey, who died Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, and whose Chronicle of Monte Cassino from 529 to 1075 (*Legenda Sancti Benedicti Longa*) is one of the most trustworthy documents of Medieval Italy<sup>1</sup>; Peter the Deacon (d. c. 1146), also librarian and chronicler of the abbey, but best known as a historical novelist and master-forger<sup>2</sup>; Erasmus (d. c. 1240), to whom the Church is indebted for having set the feet of young Thomas Aquinas along the path

<sup>1</sup> It was edited for the first time by the Cassinese Abbot Angelo della Noce, with the title, *Chronica Sacri Monasterii Cassinensis auctore Leone Card. Ostiensi*, Paris, 1668. It has been reprinted several times.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Erich Caspar. *Petrus Diaconus und die Monte Cassineser Fälschungen* Berlin, 1909.



of sacred learning. He was an eminent theologian and has left behind a collection of Sermons, redolent of the unction of the Fathers.<sup>1</sup>

The long standing tradition of poetical composition was carried on by St. Albanus, Amatus of Salerno and Peter the Deacon, mentioned above, as well as by Guaiferio, better known as Benedict of Salerno (d. 1089),<sup>2</sup> Rainald the Subdeacon (d. 1146) and Alexander (d. c. 1200).<sup>3</sup> Finally, Alberic, afterwards Cardinal, was the author of the *Ars Dictaminis*, as well as of an imposing list of other works. A namesake of his won fame by his *Visio*, a poem considered by some as the original source of Dante's *Divina Commedia*.<sup>4</sup>

Monte Cassino, especially during the abbacy of St. Desiderius, became the centre of the new schools of miniature and illumination. Indeed the richest treasures of the archivium consist to this day of the Codices copied and illuminated from the X to the XII century.<sup>5</sup> Many other Cassinese codices, now scattered throughout the libraries of Europe—such as the *Miracula Sancti Benedicti*, n. 1202, of the Vatican Library<sup>6</sup>—shed lustre on their house of origin. Moreover in the Scriptorium of Monte Cassino was born a new style of script differing in many respects from that produced at the Benedictine abbey of Farfa: this was the Lombard-Cassinese, now called the Beneventan.<sup>7</sup> There was likewise at the abbey a school of mosaic work; it was this monastic school that decorated with mosaics the Cathedral churches of Capua and Salerno. The influence of this school is traceable to this day throughout Southern Italy.

In the material order, the possessions of the archabbey now extended across the Peninsula from sea to sea, forming in fact an independent territory, known as St. Benedict's Land—*La*

<sup>1</sup> Preserved in the Cassinese Codex 822.

<sup>2</sup> A. Mirra. *Guaiferio monaco e poeta a Montecassino nel secolo XI*, in *Convegno storico di Montecassino*, 28-29. Maggio, 1930, pp. 199-208.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*. *La Poesia di Montecassino*. Naples, 1929.

<sup>4</sup> *Dict. d'Hist. et de Géog. Eccel.*, T. I, col. 1407.

<sup>5</sup> L. Tosti. *La Biblioteca dei Codici Manoscritti di Montecassino*, etc., 1870.

<sup>6</sup> *Miniature Cassinesi del secolo XI illustranti la Vita di San Benedetto* a cura di Dom M. Inganez e M. Avery. (Dal cod. Vatic. Lat. 1202), Montecassino, 1934.

<sup>7</sup> E. A. Lowe, *Beneventan Script*, 2 vol., Oxford, 1929.

*Terra di San Benedetto*, also most appropriately called *Terra di Lavoro*—Land of Labour. Situated as it was between the Papal States and the new Norman kingdom of Southern Italy, it served for a long time to maintain equilibrium between north and south. Of the resulting political importance of Monte Cassino the Popes were well aware and they were able more than once to turn their influence with the abbey to good account. Thus St. Peter found a home under St. Benedict's roof.

Towards the end of this period the abbey was already declining, though its days of glory were by no means past. In 1215 Innocent III confirmed the vast possessions of the monastery and essayed a reform. In 1216 Honorius III again confirmed the properties, granted to the abbot the abbatial insignia, at that time a very exceptional honour, and conferred upon him the title of "Abbot of Abbots" of the Order. In 1219 the same Pontiff addressed a letter to the community inviting them to submit to further reform—significantly enough, one of the first clauses is: *Moderatio ab abbate servanda*. In 1239 the German Emperor Frederick II expelled the monks from the abbey. The young St. Thomas Aquinas was then among the monastic alumni. The buildings were turned into a fortress and its fate seemed to be sealed. But St. Benedict saw to it that it was only for a short time.

#### IV

The period which now begins, 1266-1505, is one of almost uninterrupted trouble. After twenty-seven years of exile, the monks returned to their monastic home in 1266. They were led by an abbot, worthy of the best days of the abbey, Bernard Aygler, a Frenchman. Born at Lyons, he had joined the abbey of Savigny and been named abbot of Lérins by Alexander IV in 1258. In 1263 he was transferred by Urban IV to Monte Cassino, where he died in 1282. His untiring zeal for the restoration of the past splendour of the archabbey made itself felt in every department of monastic life. He wrote for this purpose a *Commentary on the Holy Rule* and a *Speculum Monachorum*.<sup>1</sup>

However, all the efforts of men of good will were powerless

<sup>1</sup> The *Commentary* was edited by Dom A. M. Caplet, O.S.B., Montecassino, 1894; the *Speculum* by Dom H. Walter, Freiburg-im-B., 1904.

to stem the flood of calamities which now beset the abbey. In 1294 Pope St. Celestine V exemplified his lack of administrative tact by forcing the monks of the archabbey to don the white habit of his own Celestine Congregation. This measure proved an utter failure. In 1322 (or 1326) the abbey was turned into a bishopric by Pope John XIII (1316-1334). That this step did not end in the complete secularization of the abbey must be attributed to a special intervention of Divine Providence. The Abbot-Bishop was usually a foreigner appointed from Avignon, not a monk, always an absentee and an assiduous appropriator of the monastic revenues, who cared nothing for monastic observance. In 1345-48 the monks were expelled once more and over a hundred soldiers were housed in the abbey, which they converted into a fortress. In 1349 an earthquake overthrew most of the buildings, including Abbot Desiderius's Basilica. For some time the monks had to dwell in huts as best they could. It was precisely at this critical period, when Monte Cassino was almost in ruins, that Boccaccio visited the abbey—probably in 1362—and passed an unfavourable judgment on the community.<sup>1</sup> In 1367, Pope Blessed Urban II, himself a Benedictine, suppressed the bishopric, and undertook, as abbot, to restore monastic life and observance—a task in which he met with considerable success. For a space the monks could breathe once more. But from 1380 to 1450 the abbey became a shuttlecock between the French and the Spanish troops fighting for the possession of Southern Italy. The crowning disaster came in 1454 when the abbey was given in commendam. The last of the commendatory abbots was John de Medicis, afterwards Pope Leo X, who, when he was only eleven years of age, was presented with sixteen great abbeys

<sup>1</sup> Longfellow refers to this episode in his well-known stanzas :—

What though Boccaccio in his reckless way  
Mocking the lazy brotherhood, deploras  
The illuminated manuscripts, that lay  
Torn and neglected on the dusty floors ?

Boccaccio was a novelist, a child  
Of fancy and of fiction at the best !  
This the urbane librarian said, and smiled  
Incredulous, as at some idle jest.



in commendam among them that of Monte Cassino. It may well be asked whether any abbey could flourish under such adverse and distracting circumstances.

Amid these vicissitudes salvation came to the community from an unexpected quarter. In 1505, at the earnest request and through the active co-operation of the Spanish warrior, Gonzalo de Cordova, known to history as the Great Captain, the baneful commendam was suppressed by the Holy See and Monte Cassino was incorporated into the Italian Congregation of St. Justina of Padua. Gonzalo claimed to have been urged to this happy intervention by St. Benedict who appeared to him in a vision. Certainly, he is to be reckoned among the greatest benefactors of the archabbey. As a tribute to the Mother-abbey, the Benedictine Congregation of St. Justina now changed its title into that of *Cassinese Congregation*.

## V

The history of the archabbey henceforth belongs to that of the Cassinese Congregation, but this incorporation into a larger body by no means diminished, but rather enhanced, the reputation of the historic community. This period is in many ways a rehearsal of the great days of the XI and XII centuries. It is the age of the Italian Renaissance, and nowhere had the Renaissance keener adherents or a greater influence for good than at Monte Cassino.

The first abbot under the new regime was indeed the very best man whom the Congregation had at its disposal, its own Abbot President, Ignatius Squarcialupi. A monk of St. Mary's at Florence, he had been several times chosen abbot of various houses and finally President of the Congregation. He was an all-round monk; a lover of letters, an efficient administrator, but above all an indefatigable promotor of monastic observance. He was numbered among the leading humanists of Italy, the home of humanism. His writings in prose and in verse are noted for their peculiar charm of style. He was undoubtedly instrumental in fostering at Monte Cassino a taste for the classics, with the result that the monastic humanist became a familiar figure in the following decades. He died in 1526.

The humanistic school at Monte Cassino continued to produce distinguished scholars up to the end of the eighteenth century. Here are a few names : Leonard Sforza degli Oddi, a gifted poet ; Augustine Loscos, latinized into *Loschus*, a Spaniard who became abbot of Ferrara ; Honoratus Fascitelli, eventually bishop of Imola, the poet-laureate of the Italian Benedictines ; Benedict Canophilus, for several years professor of Canon Law in Rome ; Angelo de Faggis (1500-1593), born at Castel di Sangro—hence his pen-name *il Sangrino*—abbot of Monte Cassino and President of the Congregation—biblical scholar, theologian, master of Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Italian, author of over forty learned volumes, and withal a perfect monk, who died in the odour of sanctity ; Zaccharias Sereno, a knight of Malta who fought at Lepanto before becoming a monk at Monte Cassino, where he wrote his work on the War of Cyprus ; Dom Gregory Sayer, latinized into *Sayrus* (d. 1602), an Englishman, graduate of Cambridge and a convert, professor and writer on moral theology, whose works had a decided influence on subsequent moralists and canonists, including St. Alphonsus<sup>1</sup> ; Angelo della Noce (1600-1691), who died archbishop of Rossano in Calabria, hailed by his contemporaries as *litterariae gloriae decus* ; Erasmus Gattola (1662-1725), one of the most lovable of Benedictine men of letters, whom his fast friend Mabillon used to style *l'incomparable Érasme*<sup>2</sup> ; Casimir Correale (d. 1750) who spent thirty years compiling a *Lexicon Hebraeo-Chaldaeo Biblicum* in 99 volumes. These are only a few names : the list could be continued indefinitely.<sup>3</sup>

The robust life of the abbey during these centuries is evidenced as in former ages, by the artistic, especially architectural, activities of the community. A new school of illumination and painting was started with the advent of Abbot Squarcialupi. He was, as we have seen, a Florentine by birth, born in the heyday of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. J. Mahoney, D.D., *The Theological position of Gregory Sayrus, O.S.B., 1560-1602*. Ware, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gennaro Scotti, *L'Abate Erasmo Gattola, monaco di Montecassino*, Montecassino, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. John Minozzi, *Montecassino nella Storia del Rinascimento*, Rome, 1925 ; also Dom M. Armellini, *Bibliotheca Benedictino-Cassinensis*, *passim*.

Florentine art, and he invited four celebrated Florentine lay-miniaturists to the abbey: John Boccardi and his son Francis, Maestro Matteo and Loise his disciple. These worked there from 1507 to 1523 and taught their art to many of the younger monks. Thus Monte Cassino became once more a busy centre of artistic achievement.

In the matter of architecture also Monte Cassino owes much to Abbot Squarcialupi. It was under him and his successors that Bramante and Sangallo were invited to undertake a complete restoration of the fabric of the abbey. The result was the Monte Cassino which was destroyed in 1944 with its outer courts—the glorious *Loggia del Paradiso*!—and its interior cloisters of severe yet curiously restful lines. In 1649, by order of the enterprising Abbot Dominic Quesada, Spanish by origin, work was begun on the new Basilica which was erected in the very centre of the already existing buildings and on the highest ground available, thus serving as a crown to the whole (see plan). The work was directed by the Spanish architect Fansaga, then in great demand throughout the kingdom of Naples, and by 1727 the church was ready for consecration, the ceremony being performed on May 19th of that year by the Dominican Pope Benedict XIII. Resplendent with marbles, frescoes and other precious objects, the Basilica was indeed well worthy of its historic status. Its ornamentation was entrusted to the leading contemporary artists of the Neapolitan and other Italian schools: Andrea da Salerno, Solimena, Mazzaroppi, Luca Giordano, Antonio Solaro, Cavalier D'Arpino, Paolo de Matteis, Belisario Corenzio, De Mura, Carlo Mallin (*Il Lorenese*), etc., while the carvings of the choir stalls, particularly the delightful reclining *putti*, were the work of D. A. Collicci (*Il Colliccio*). The large fresco in the refectory was the work of two Venetian painters, the *Fratelli Bassano*, of the preceding generation. All this exquisite beauty has, of course, been utterly lost in the recent bombing.

Space does not allow us to list the illustrious visitors to the abbey during this period. Three, however, must be mentioned: St. Ignatius of Loyola, befriended by the abbot in difficult circumstances, St. Philip Neri, a great friend of the monks, and



Torquato Tasso who found a welcome refuge at the abbey. Another name which deserves special mention is that of the Ven. John Baptist of Brescia (d. 1679), a Cassinese who was sent to help the infant Castro-Cassinese Congregation of Poland, and who left behind him in that country the reputation of a wonder-worker.

The end of this fruitful period came in 1799 with the French armies of Napoleon. The soldiery were turned loose in the sacred edifice. They pillaged and sacked to their hearts' content. They even kindled a huge fire within the precincts of the monastic library. "*Ce qui s'y passa alors*", writes Dom Ph. Schmits,<sup>1</sup> "*dépasse en horreur ce qu'on peut imaginer.*" The climax was reached in 1806 when Joseph Bonaparte secularised the abbey.

## VI

Monte Cassino now became officially a *Museum of Arts and Antiquities*—*Stabilimento d'oggetti d'arte e d'Antichità*. Fortunately the abbot contrived to secure his own appointment as director with a maximum staff of fifty officials to act as custodians. Fifty monks managed to become officials. They were forbidden to wear the habit, were under military supervision, and were often in want of the necessities of life—always indeed obliged to live from hand to mouth. But they were happy: they could carry on their monastic observance in the surroundings to which their lives had been dedicated. When the Bourbon Kings returned to Naples, conditions improved slightly, owing especially to the fatherly care of the Cassinese Pope Pius VII. Soon, however, the political troubles in Italy connected with the Risorgimento began to tell on the fortunes of the archabbey, in spite of the fact that several of the community were fervent Italian nationalists. From 1860 to 1868 a bitter struggle raged between those who called for the suppression of the archabbey and those to whom such a measure appeared in the light of sacrilege. The conflict assumed international proportions. Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister of England, spoke out in

<sup>1</sup> *Mélanges, op. cit.*, p. 24.

favour of the monks. Strong representations were made by the British Government that the suppression of the abbey would outrage the whole of the civilized world. This intervention was only partially successful: the monks were allowed to remain as custodians of the monastery but it was declared a National Monument. However, the monks were extremely grateful to Gladstone, and his portrait was placed among those of the illustrious benefactors of the archabbey.

Through all these adverse circumstances the monks continued their appointed life of prayer and work. The librarian at this time was Dom Octavius Fraja-Frangipane, a great patristic scholar. From 1840 to 1900 the printing press of the archabbey brought forth a series of noteworthy publications, by such men as Dom Kalefati, Dom de Vera, Dom D'Orgemont, Dom Quandel, Dom Bernardi, Dom Postiglione, Dom Piscitelli-Taeggi, Dom Tosti. The last mentioned is perhaps the most representative writer of the Cassinese community during the XIX century. Dom Luigi Tosti (1811-1897), entered Monte Cassino in 1832 and became a priest in 1833. He was a fervent monk, a fervid poet and an ardent patriot, his whole life being inspired by these three ideals—the monastic, the literary and the patriotic. Between 1840 and 1895 he produced a steady succession of volumes, mainly historical and literary in character, written in a choice and glowing style which has earned for him a place among the modern masters of Italian prose.

During the past half-century Monte Cassino has seen days of great splendour. The first of these was in 1880, when the XIV centenary of St. Benedict's birth was solemnly commemorated at the abbey in the presence of most of the prelates of the Order. It was on this occasion that the *Torretta* (see plan), that is, the part of the building in which according to tradition St. Benedict had lived, was dedicated by Cardinal Pitra, O.S.B. It had recently been decorated with frescoes by Beuronese artists under the personal direction of Dom Desiderius Lenz, O.S.B., founder of the Beuronese school of painting. In 1903, the German Emperor, Wilhelm II, then at the zenith of his influence, made a state visit to the abbey in company with the King of Italy. The abbot at that time was Dom Boniface Krug (d. 1909), a

German by birth, professed in the United States and a great monk. In May (10 to 12) of the year 1913, the crypt of the Basilica, magnificently decorated by the artist-monks of Beuron, was inaugurated by Cardinal Gasparri, as Legate *a latere* of Pope Pius X. Some five hundred Benedictines were present at the ceremony. On the last day, May 12, all the professors, students and lay brothers of the Benedictine University of Sant' Anselmo in Rome travelled to Monte Cassino to assist at the close of the celebrations. The present writer was one of those students and the historic event remains one of the outstanding experiences of his life. In 1929 the same Cardinal returned, this time as Legate of Pope Pius XI, to preside at the celebrations of the fourteenth centenary of the foundation of the abbey. As scarcely two months previously the Lateran Treaty had been signed, the Cardinal's visit to Monte Cassino, at all times a focus of intense national feeling, provided the first of many occasions on which Church and State in Italy were publicly united in patriotic demonstrations. In 1937 it was decided at the Conference of Benedictine Abbots of the whole world, held in Rome, that the fourteenth centenary of the death of St. Benedict should be solemnly commemorated at Monte Cassino in 1943. *Dis aliter visum.*

Of late years the monks of Monte Cassino, besides their perennial duty of solemn liturgical prayer, have been engaged in serving a large diocese of which the Abbot is the Ordinary. They directed and staffed two seminaries, having a roll of some 150 pupils, and a lay college for the sons of the nobility with another 150 boarders. They were in charge of an astronomical observatory. Several of them were naturally employed in the duties of hosts and ciceroni to the hundreds of guests, pilgrims and visitors to the abbey. Several again are universally recognized as scholars of the first rank. A famous member of this category, who died in 1933, was Dom Ambrose Amelli, well known for his biblical, patristic and musical studies. It was he who was responsible for one of Harnack's characteristic dicta. The German scholar once asked Amelli: "What are you doing at Monte Cassino"? "Well", answered the abbot, "what we have been always doing: we pray and we work." "At Berlin",



the Professor sadly added, "we also work : but I am afraid we have forgotten how to pray."

The rebuilding of Monte Cassino is a live issue. We would draw the attention of those who are looking forward to that happy event—in other words, to all lovers of civilization, to the lines which Edmund Gurley, of Trinity College, Cambridge, wrote in the Visitors' Book of the archabbey in January 1872 :

*Innumeros flammaeque hominumque experta furores  
Stat tamen et stabit tempus in omne domus :  
Moenia mutavit, sed spiritus immanet idem,  
Una tuis jungit te, Benedicte, fides.*

## CONCERNING THE RECONSTRUCTION OF 'THE ARAMAIC GOSPELS'.

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### I. TORREY'S TRANSLATION OF THE GOSPELS.

IT is sometimes maintained that the four gospels as they have come down to us are straightforward translations of Aramaic originals, with the exception, indeed, of a few small portions. Recently this view has found a brilliant and highly competent advocate in C. C. Torrey. It is not the present writer's object to investigate this vast problem, though it may be permissible to express respectful disagreement. Certainly, it is highly unlikely that Jesus used Greek when talking to his disciples or preaching; or even that he knew a great deal of Greek. (This point has perhaps received too little attention from those who have speculated upon the trial of Jesus before Pilate. That scene will appear none the less pathetic if we assume the presence of an interpreter.) There must, therefore, have existed a nucleus of sayings and stories in Aramaic. But it has been convincingly argued that Greek versions of these, or many of these, were current from an early date and were used by the evangelists or even their sources. Probably some narratives and sayings to be found in the gospels were in Greek from the outset. The truth seems to be that the problem does not admit of a uniform solution to be stated in a few words. The proportion of Aramaic, Greek and other elements (for there are others, among which Hebrew is prominent) varies from one pericope to the next and, quite often, one verse to the next. As for the Aramaic gold, while that may here and there be almost on the surface, as a rule we have to dig through several layers (some of them deep and hard enough to render the work laborious) to reach it; and not infrequently we shall toil all in vain, much

<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to thank Professor F. S. Marsh for criticism and advice.

as did those inhabitants of the shores of the Rhine who, fascinated as 'the midnight moon did lave her forehead in the silver wave', searched their river for the legendary treasure of the *Nibelungen*.

Here a much narrower subject will be discussed. Torrey has given us a new English translation of the gospels,<sup>1</sup> a translation based on the theory mentioned at the beginning of this paper; and he has explained his deviations from previous renderings not only in numerous notes appended to this translation but also in a separate, more recent work.<sup>2</sup> In the latter he classifies his deviations, in order to show what kinds of mistakes we have to expect in a Greek work coming direct from the Aramaic. It may be said to be the purpose of the following remarks to point out some of the mistakes that we have to expect in a work like Torrey's. More precisely, Torrey, for whom the gospels are immediate versions of Aramaic originals, is inclined to blame the translator into Greek for any difficulties in the text before us; inclined to solve any problems by alleging that the Aramaic was in order, only the translator into Greek misunderstood it. This procedure has its great dangers, whether Torrey's main thesis is tenable or not. No doubt some passages in the gospels may owe their present form to mistranslation of an Aramaic original. But it is easy to exaggerate and, except for certain particularly favourable cases, impossible to achieve reconstructions that can be regarded as authoritative. A phrase that looks odd at first sight may yet turn out to be in its proper place, on close examination of, say, the Rabbinic background: if we assume mistranslation in such a case, we shall only have made the text suit our modern notions instead of arriving at its true meaning. And who knows enough about the Aramaic of first century Palestine, the little personal peculiarities in the Aramaic of, say, the hypothetical Aramaic Matthew and those in the Aramaic of the man who made him into Greek to be able to reconstruct with authority? The writer happens to have seen a large number of reconstructions of texts from the Digest supposed to have suffered under the hands of Tribonian,

<sup>1</sup> C. C. Torrey, *The Four Gospels*.

<sup>2</sup> C. C. Torrey, *Our Translated Gospels*.



Justinian's minister of justice, when he compiled that code from the works of the famous jurists of the first two and a half centuries. But it is greatly to be feared that few of them would cause the original authors anything but annoyance. Yet the task is considerably less complicated than in the case of the gospels, since both Tribonian and the classical jurists whose works he handled wrote in Latin. (The great Roman lawyer Otto Lenel, in the course of discussing similar questions, pointed out that of the German synonyms *da* and *weil*, the former was to be found hundreds of times in his own writings, the latter hardly at all : an interesting and by no means unique example of personal preference for one of two equally good words.) The pitfalls here referred to are only a few out of a great many in the way of him who would rely chiefly on the possibility of mistranslation in dealing with difficulties in the gospels. This is not saying that no account should be taken of that possibility. Far from it. It remains an undoubted merit of Torrey's to have revived interest in a method too often neglected. What it is sought to demonstrate is, first, that only good can come of a certain reluctance to assume mistranslations,<sup>1</sup> and secondly, that reconstructions are apt to go wrong. Unfortunately, even where one does not agree with an explanation by Torrey, it is often impossible to disprove it. In Aramaic, sometimes, the same words may express either a declaration or a question. Torrey says that in Luke 16 : 8 f., the Aramaic signified ‘ Did the lord of the estate praise his faithless manager ? ’, and that it was the translator into Greek who is responsible for the troublesome ‘ And the lord commended the unjust steward ’.<sup>2</sup> The present writer prefers the traditional version, just because it is so inconvenient, but this means only that he does not approve of Torrey's suggestion, not that he has refuted it. Nevertheless there are cases where Torrey's treatment can at least be shown to be very problematic, and it is to a discussion of some of these that the following pages will be devoted.

<sup>1</sup> The present writer himself has sinned against this principle in *Expository Times*, 50, pp. 138 f., though he has made it clear that his treatment of Mark 2 : 4 and Luke 5 : 19 is not meant to provide more than a conceivable solution of a difficulty which may not exist.

<sup>2</sup> *The Four Gospels*, pp. 157 and 311 ; *Our Translated Gospels*, pp. 56, 59f.

This inquiry, then, is not concerned with the wider question whether or not the four gospels are straightforward translations of Aramaic originals. Two points, however, may be noted. For one thing, should it be possible to prove mistaken significant explanations of Torrey, one's view of his main thesis will inevitably be affected, in however slight a degree. For another thing, even where something like a mistranslation appears established, we must remember that it may have occurred at a stage of the tradition far prior to the evangelist-translator ; frequently, it may have occurred before any translation was made, so that we ought to think of misinterpretation of an Aramaic passage by one who handed it on in Aramaic rather than of mistranslation of an Aramaic passage by one who handed it on in Greek. According to Matthew 14 : 2, Mark 6 : 14, ' the powers work in him (John the Baptist) '. Torrey contends that the Aramaic used a form which, if written without vowels, could mean this or ' the deeds are worked by him ' (passive) ; that, in this context, only the latter meaning can have been intended ; and that the translator into Greek mistranslated.<sup>1</sup> But even if the first two steps of this argument are conceded, there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that it was at the Aramaic stage itself that the form was misunderstood and replaced by one signifying only ' the powers work in him ' (active). It follows that even where something like a mistranslation appears established, special evidence is required if we are to be certain that it was the evangelist-translator himself who committed the mistake. A fair proportion of the mistranslations alleged by Torrey, even if believed in, are not of the type that can be ascribed only to the last or, indeed, to any translator into Greek. However, as the wider issue is not raised in this paper, this consideration will not be pursued. The object of these reflections, as already stated, is quite unambitious : to demonstrate that much care should be exercised in inferring mistranslations and attempting reconstructions.

<sup>1</sup> *The Four Gospels*, pp. 31, 81, 293 and 299 ; *Our Translated Gospels*, pp. 98 f.

## II. MATTHEW 5 : 37.

Let us begin with Matthew 5 : 37. Torrey's allegation of a mistranslation is unfounded. An analysis of the Rabbinic background shows that the passage, if not superior to its parallel, James 5 : 12, is certainly not the result of clumsiness on the part of a translator.

Matthew 5 : 37, as it stands, says : ‘But let your communication be, Yea, yea ; Nay, nay . . .’. Torrey substitutes : ‘But let your word “yes” be yea, and your “nay” be nay . . .’. He remarks : ‘The Greek follows the Aramaic exactly, word by word, but the result is mistranslation ; the second occurrence of the “yea” or “nay” is in each case the predicate. James 5 : 12 has it right.’<sup>1</sup> But the matter is a little more complicated than that. True, we might readily conceive of an Aramaic original the meaning of which was as Torrey supposes, though it could also be interpreted (or rather, on this hypothesis, misinterpreted) in the way chosen by the Greek translator. True, James 5 : 12 has a version speaking for Torrey : ‘But let your yea be yea ; and your nay, nay’. Yet when we inspect the Rabbinic parallels, the result is strongly in favour of the Matthean text before us.

According to Matthew 5 : 33 ff., you have to avoid oaths ; you may swear neither by heaven nor by the earth nor by Jerusalem nor by your head ; and you may go no further—if we accept the traditional text—than an emphatic ‘Yea, yea’ or ‘Nay, nay’. James 5 : 12 ends on a somewhat different note. You have to avoid oaths ; you may swear neither by heaven nor by the earth nor by any other oath ; the most ordinary assurance coming from you should be good enough. This ‘let your yea be yea, and your nay be nay’ Torrey takes as having been behind Matthew 5 : 37 as well. Now it is clear from the Rabbinic discussion of oaths that people were afraid to use the name of God ; moreover, the better ones at least saw that swearing by God mostly showed a lack of true reverence. The name of God, therefore, was often replaced by attributes of God or the like. But as even these were feared and respected,

<sup>1</sup> *The Four Gospels*, pp. 11 and 291.



less and less solemn expressions might take the place of oaths. For this and other reasons, it became necessary to lay down which phrases constituted an oath and which did not. In Mishnah Shebuoth 4 : 13, for instance, it is provided that, for certain purposes, 'By heaven and by earth' is not an oath, but 'By the Merciful and Gracious' is. In the Babylonian Gemara attached to this Mishnah (Shebuoth 36a), R. Eleazar takes the view that a mere 'Yea' or 'Nay' may constitute an oath; whereas in Raba's opinion, a 'Yea, yea' or 'Nay, nay' is required.<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that several examples of 'Yea, yea' and 'Nay, nay' being used for emphasis are quoted from Rabbinic sources by Strack-Billerbeck:<sup>2</sup> they were living expressions. Surely all this supplies a sufficient background to Matthew 5 : 37 even as it stands. You may not resort, this is the meaning of the passage, to any of the dodges usual in oaths : all you may do is to say 'Yea, yea' or 'Nay, nay'. And the conclusion that this verse is intended to give us the maximum formula permissible is confirmed by the second half : 'For whatever is more than these cometh of evil'.

As for the version in James 5 : 12, it is important to observe that the Rabbinic illustrations adduced by Strack-Billerbeck<sup>3</sup> are none of them concerned, like Matthew and the sections from Shebuoth cited, with the proper mode of making binding declarations. In other words, none of them are concerned with the problem whether man, so small before God, has the right to take an oath, and what he can do if he has not. In the first case, R. Jose b. Judah comments on Leviticus 19 : 36 ('Just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin, shall ye have') : 'Your Nay shall be just and your Yea shall be just'. The second case is the same as the first, except for the additional remark by Abaye :

<sup>1</sup> These Rabbis, it seems, rather lost sight of the nature of an oath : for us, at any rate, an oath involves the invocation of a superior power. But in this as in every matter, the ultimate test, in the eyes of the Rabbis, was Scripture. As they found there, or thought they found there, mere confirmations and denials with the force of oaths, they regarded it as sufficiently proved that a simple 'Yea' or the like might be an oath. Compare also Philo, *Leg. All.* 3 : 72, 203 ff., and *De Sacr. Ab. et Cai.* 27 : 91 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 1, pp. 336 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 336.

‘ You should not say one thing with your mouth and think another thing in your heart ’. In the third case, R. Huna in the name of R. Samuel b. Isaac comments on Ruth 3 : 18 ( ‘ Then said she, Sit still, my daughter . . . for the man will not be in rest, until he have finished the thing this day ’ ): ‘ The Yea of the just is a Yea, and their Nay is a Nay ’. In all three passages, that is, the theme is not the proper mode of making a binding declaration, but truthfulness and reliability. The two themes are closely related but not quite the same. In James 5 : 12 alone they appear to be combined : you may not swear by heaven, the earth or any other oath (this sounds like a reference to the proper mode of giving an assurance)—you may not go back on your mere confirmation or denial (this is an exhortation to be truthful and reliable). Instead of ‘ For whatever is more than these cometh of evil ’, we find the less specific ‘ Lest ye fall into condemnation ’.

Dibelius indeed seems to think that James 5 : 12 is confined to the theme of honesty.<sup>1</sup> But this view can hardly be accepted. He relies on Pythagoras, but Pythagoras affords no real parallel. That sage, if we are to believe his biographers, ‘ forbade his disciples to swear by the gods, saying that every man ought so to exercise himself as to be worthy of belief without an oath ’ (Diogenes Laertius 8 : 22); and advised administrators to surpass the common citizens in nothing but justice, adding that ‘ it was proper that the senators should not make use of any of the gods for the purpose of an oath, but that their language should be such as to render them worthy of belief without oaths ’ (Jamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 47). This is a logical line of thought, belonging exclusively to the theme of truthfulness and reliability, but it is different from James 5 : 12. (It does recur, significantly, in Josephus’ account of the Essenes, *De Bell. Jud.* 2 : 8 : 6, 135 : ‘ And while any word counts with them as stronger than an oath, they avoid swearing, deeming it worse than perjury ; for he stands condemned from the very outset, they say, who cannot be trusted without an invocation of God ’.<sup>2</sup>) James 5 : 12

<sup>1</sup> M. Dibelius, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, 7th ed., pp. 228 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Philo, *Quod Omn. Prob. Lib.* 12 : 84 : the Essenes, we are here told, attach the greatest importance to ‘ continued and uninterrupted purity throughout the whole of life, avoidance of oaths, avoidance of falsehood ’ etc.

does not contain only a plain warning not to swear and to stand by one's mere word. More precisely, it says not only 'Swear not', but 'Swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath'. This distinctly indicates that somewhere in the tradition underlying James stood the problem that is still prominent in Matthew, the problem of dodges (how far are they admissible? which of them constitute oaths? is there a way to do without them?); somewhere in that tradition stood the notion of the oath as abhorrent not because a man's mere assurance ought to be enough, but because God is to be feared and respected; somewhere, in brief, stood the discussion of the proper mode of making binding declarations. Only James 5 : 12, in contradistinction to Matthew 5 : 37, superimposes on this the theme of truthfulness and reliability: it concludes with an admonition to be honest. As a result, it is less compact than either Matthew 5 : 37 (the proper mode of making a binding declaration) or Pythagoras (honesty).

In view of this evidence, it is arguable that James 5 : 12 represents a later stage than Matthew 5 : 37. Matthew 5 : 37, we might hold, is slightly more precise. It tells us not to swear, not even with the help of dodges, but to use the formula 'Yea, yea' or 'Nay, nay': But let your communication be, 'Yea, yea; Nay, nay'. James 5 : 12 seems to draw an inference from this teaching. It tells us not to swear, not even with the help of dodges, but to make up by being truthful and reliable: 'But let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay'. Maybe the technical point of Matthew's 'Yea, yea' and 'Nay, nay' was no longer understood at a very early date. But this does not necessarily follow: the introduction into the saying of a general, moral maxim is nothing very surprising. However, there is no need here to decide between the claims of the two versions. The present writer inclines to prefer Matthew 5 : 37: for if the interpretation here attempted is tenable, it forms the conclusion of a homogeneous utterance concerning the proper mode of making a binding declaration, while James 5 : 12 gives the argument a twist so as to lead up to the command to be honest. Dibelius prefers James 5 : 12: for he regards it as a homogeneous utterance concerning honesty, and also as ethically



superior to the more legalistic Matthew 5 : 37.<sup>1</sup> (Some help might be got for the question from II Corinthians 1 : 17 ff., if that passage did not itself give rise to considerable difficulties.) In any case, the position is that we have one version in Matthew 5 : 37, strongly supported by Rabbinic analogy ; and another version in James 5 : 12, less strongly supported by Rabbinic analogy, though, according to Dibelius, to be paralleled from Pythagoras. Admittedly, there is here an awkward problem. But to assume a mistranslation in Matthew 5 : 37 and violently assimilate this text to James 5 : 12 is evading the problem, not solving it. It is, at bottom, doing the same thing with modern means that was done in a more primitive way by those ancient editors and scribes who simply corrected Matthew 5 : 37 after James 5 : 12 or James 5 : 12 after Matthew 5 : 37. A glance at the apparatus will show that quite a few, in the course of the centuries, made the two versions agree with one another. Let us not succumb to the temptation.

### III. MARK 10 : 6.

Mark 10 : 6 uses a curious phrase, which Torrey ascribes to mistranslation. There exists so close an analogy, however, in Rabbinic literature that this view must be rejected. The difference between Mark 10 : 6 and its parallel, Matthew 19 : 4, cannot be dissolved by assuming clumsiness on the part of a translator.

Mark 10 : 6, in its present form, reads : ‘But from the beginning of the creation, male and female made he them.’ Torrey substitutes : ‘At the beginning, the Creator made them

<sup>1</sup> The latter reason would seem peculiarly weak, though it is also given as decisive by E. Klostermann, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 2nd ed., pp. 46 f. For one thing, the transformation of a saying with a legalistic point (Matthew) into one with a general, ethical point (James) is much more likely in this case than the reverse process ; yet it is the reverse process that Dibelius assumes. For another thing, is it right to label a version as finer merely because it makes a stronger appeal to the twentieth-century reader ? Certainly, James’s admonition to be honest suits any modern system of ethics. But is it really finer than the advice to make binding declarations in the form of ‘Yea, yea’ or ‘Nay, nay’ only, if that advice springs (as it does in Matthew) from a genuine acknowledgement of the greatness of God, of God who alone is master of ‘heaven, the earth, Jerusalem and thy head’ ?

male and female'. He remarks: 'The text of the verse began: *milqadmīn dī b'rā*, which might be rendered exactly as in Mark, the subject of the verb (God) being understood. But Matthew, who had the same text (with the words possibly transposed), rendered correctly. See Matthew 19:4, and the note there.<sup>1</sup> *Milqadmīn* is the regular Jewish Aramaic for "at the beginning".<sup>2</sup> Torrey further argues that the traditional text of Mark cannot be right, seeing that God made man not at the beginning of creation, but at the end.<sup>3</sup>

It must be admitted, first, that the Aramaic postulated by Torrey might well mean what he thinks it originally did; secondly, that it might well be translated, or rather, on his hypothesis, mistranslated in a way leading to the text as it stands; thirdly, that if we accept his correction, the troublesome difference between Mark 10:6 and Matthew 19:4 disappears; and fourthly, that man was the last, not the first, of God's works—at least to go by the plain sense of the Biblical story rather than certain Midrashic speculations. Torrey could even have added two further points. First, the view that the present Mark 10:6 must be due to mistranslation is not new. Wellhausen and Klostermann held it,<sup>4</sup> though their Aramaic or Hebrew and, consequently, their original saying is vastly different from Torrey's; and on the basis of their reconstruction, the gulf between Mark 10:6 and Matthew 19:4 becomes even wider than it now is. (According to them, the Aramaic or Hebrew behind Mark 10:6 meant: 'At the beginning of the book of the creation, Moses wrote that male and female made he them'.) Secondly, the desire to make these two texts say exactly the same is not new. It has been suggested that Matthew 19:4 is corrupt and, at some stage, was absolutely identical with Mark 10:6.<sup>5</sup>

There are, then, a number of arguments in favour of Torrey's

<sup>1</sup> This note, to be found in *The Four Gospels*, p. 294, says: "'He who made" renders *dī b'rā*, which is the standing phrase for "the Creator". See note on Mark 10:6.'

<sup>2</sup> See *The Four Gospels*, pp. 91 and 302.

<sup>3</sup> See *Our Translated Gospels*, pp. 3, 12, and 14.

<sup>4</sup> See E. Klostermann, *Das Markusevangelium*, 2nd ed., pp. 110 f.

<sup>5</sup> See M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Matthieu*, 2nd ed., p. 367.

opinion ; yet those against it are stronger. The first point to make one doubtful is the existence of another passage where Mark uses the term ‘from the beginning of the creation’ while Matthew does not. Mark 13 : 19 says : ‘For in those days shall be affliction, such as was not from the beginning of the creation.’ Matthew 24 : 21 says : ‘For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world.’<sup>1</sup> It is true that this time there is no difference in meaning between the evangelists, and also that whereas man, according to the plain Biblical story, was not made ‘in the beginning of the creation’ (which Mark 10 : 6 in its traditional form might be taxed with overlooking), it is perfectly natural to speak of troubles more fearful than any ‘since the beginning of the creation’ (so that Mark 13 : 19 is safe on this account). Still, the fact remains that here is another instance where Mark alone employs just this phrase, and where a mistranslation of the kind assumed by Torrey in the case of 10 : 6 is out of the question.

A far more serious consideration is that *mitt’hillath b’riyyatho shel ‘olam*, ‘from the beginning of his creation of the world’, is a frequent expression in Rabbinic discourses on the creation. Sometimes, indeed, the phrase is used in its most literal sense. This happens particularly where God’s perfect knowledge of everything to come is emphasised. In Genesis Rabba 2 we are told : ‘R. Abbahu taught, From the beginning of his creation of the world the Holy one saw the deeds of the righteous and the deeds of the wicked ; according to Psalm 1 : 6, For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, but the way of the ungodly shall perish ; or according to Genesis 1 : 2 f., And the earth was without form and void—these are the deeds of the wicked, And God said, Let there be light—these are the deeds of the righteous . . . . R. Hiyya the Elder taught, From the beginning of his creation of the world the Holy one saw the temple built, destroyed and re-built ; according to Genesis 1 : 1 ff., In the beginning God created—this is the temple built (with Isaiah 51 : 16, That I may plant the heavens . . . and say unto Zion, Thou art my people) ; And the earth was without

<sup>1</sup> Compare also Matthew 25 : 34 : ‘Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world’.



form and void—this is the temple destroyed (with Jeremiah 4 : 23 ff., I beheld the earth, and lo, it was without form and void . . . I beheld, and lo, the fruitful place was a wilderness) ; And God said, Let there be light—this is the temple re-built (with Isaiah 60 : 1 f., Arise, shine, for thy light is come . . . For behold, the darkness shall cover the earth . . . But the Lord shall arise upon thee).’ Here, with God seeing the end as he sets to work, we are not very far from Fitzgerald’s ‘ Yea, the First Morning of Creation wrote What the Last Dawn of Reckoning shall read ’.

There seem, however, to have been Rabbis against whom the same charge could be preferred as against Mark 10 : 6, namely, a use of the expression under notice not in accordance with the strict Biblical account of the creation. Genesis Rabba 5a may be adduced : ‘ R. Eleazar taught, From the beginning of his creation of the world the Holy one decreed (the Floods) and said (Genesis 1 : 9), Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together. How ? It is written twice (Amos 5 : 8 and 9 : 6), He that calleth for the waters of the sea and poureth them out upon the face of the earth : one reference is to the generation of the Flood and the other to the generation of Enosh.’ (That there were two Floods, one of them earlier than the familiar Flood, namely, in the time of Enosh, is an old Midrashic view.) In this passage, God is represented as having gathered the waters ‘ from the beginning of his creation of the world ’, despite the fact that the Bible makes this one of the works of the third day. The same Midrash is recorded in Deuteronomy Rabba 10 (where it is ascribed to R. Jose b. Zimra) and Ecclesiastes Rabba in 3 : 14, and in these two versions the formulation is even clearer : ‘ Thus spoke the Holy one from the beginning of his creation of the world, Let the waters be gathered ’ in the former, ‘ From the beginning of his creation of the world it is said, Let the waters be gathered ’ in the latter. (The interpretation of the Midrash here adopted is Bacher’s.<sup>1</sup>) A somewhat less plausible way of taking it is to hold that the Rabbis meant to establish a contrast between the gathering of the waters in Genesis 1 : 9 and the pouring out in Amos 5 : 8

<sup>1</sup> See W. Bacher, *Die Agada der Palästinensischen Amoräer*, vol. 2, p. 51.

and 9 : 6, the two Floods constituting a reversal of the original order. For the purpose of this discussion, it does not matter at all which interpretation is preferred : on either of them, the words ‘Let the waters be gathered’ were regarded by R. Eleazar as uttered ‘from the beginning of his creation of the world’.) Obviously, if it could be said that God gathered the waters ‘from the beginning of his creation of the world’, there is no reason why this phrase should have been inapplicable to the creation of man.

But there is one more highly suggestive point : we find what God did ‘from the beginning of his creation of the world’ treated by the Rabbis as an indication of what man ought to do. The relevance of this to the matter in hand is obvious. We have here part of the wider background of an argument like Mark 10 : 6 in its present form. In *Leviticus Rabba* 25 is recorded a discourse of R. Judah b. Simon on *Leviticus* 19 : 23 (‘And when ye shall come into the land, ye shall plant all manner of trees for food’<sup>1</sup>) : ‘R. Judah b. Simon opened his discourse by quoting *Deuteronomy* 13 : 5, Ye shall walk after the Lord your God. But is it possible for flesh and blood to walk after the Holy one, him of whom it is written in *Psalm* 77 : 20, Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known? . . . But the explanation is as follows. From the beginning of his creation of the world the Holy one was first occupied with plantation only, as is proved by *Genesis* 2 : 8, And the Lord planted a garden eastward in Eden : so you also, when you have entered the land, shall first occupy yourselves with plantation only. This is the meaning of *Leviticus* 19 : 23, And when ye shall come into the land, ye shall plant trees.’ When we consider how carefully the comments on the story of the creation were sifted by the compilers and publishers of tradition, it becomes very probable that there once existed many more arguments of this type than would appear from the material handed down to us.<sup>2</sup> Incidentally,

<sup>1</sup> This is a Rabbinic interpretation of the verse. The English Bible has : ‘And when ye shall come into the land, and shall have planted all manner of trees, then . . .’

<sup>2</sup> A line of thought not dissimilar to that in the section on divorce here under discussion is to be found in *The Testament of Zebulun* 9 : 4 (see D. Daube,

the plantation of Genesis 2 : 8 is here said to have taken place 'from the beginning of his creation of the world', though, if we rely on the plain sense of the Biblical story, it cannot have occurred before the third day, on which grass, herb and trees were created (Genesis 1 : 11 f.). It is quite possible, however, that R. Judah did not rely on the plain Biblical story but adhered to a theory according to which the garden of Eden was among the first works of creation (see Babylonian Pesahim 54a) ; a theory perhaps supported by an interpretation of *miqqedhem*, 'eastward', as 'of old', 'And the Lord God planted a garden of old in Eden'.<sup>1</sup>

An examination of Rabbinic literature, then, shows that it would be rash to attribute Mark 10 : 6 to a mistranslation and violently assimilate it to Matthew 19 : 4. Precisely what the relationship is between the two texts need not here be discussed. Nor is it necessary to decide whether Mark 10 : 6 uses the phrase 'from the beginning of the creation' loosely, as the equivalent Hebrew is used in Genesis Rabba 5 cited above, or whether we have to interpret more literally. We might, for example, think of some Midrashic speculation ante-dating the creation of man. Several such are preserved, and there must have been more in the Talmudic era. We are told that an ideal creation in God's mind preceded the actual one ; that God created everything on the first day, only the various works became manifest or extended in a certain succession ; and so on. Another way of taking the term in Mark 10 : 6 literally would be to see in it a reference to the original state of man, when male and female were not yet two separate beings, as opposed to the final state now prevailing. It may be significant that it is precisely the clause 'Male and female made he them',

*Theology*, 47, p. 67). The patriarch warns his children against political division, against division 'into two heads, since all that the Lord has made has received one head, and two shoulders, two hands', etc. But the term 'from the beginning of the creation' does not occur.

<sup>1</sup> The Jerusalemite Targum paraphrases the word by *qodham b'riyyath 'olam*, 'before the creation of the world'; whilst Genesis Rabba 15 affirms that the word means not that Eden was created *qodhem libh'riyyatho shel 'olam*, 'before his creation of the world', but merely that it was created *qodhem l'adam hari'shon*, 'before Adam'.



the clause quoted in Mark 10 : 6, on which the Midrash (which has every mark of great antiquity) rests its teaching of the androgynous man, of the first man who was two, male and female, in one. Mark 10 : 6, should this have to be regarded as relevant, would imply : ‘But the very first time that man was created, male and female, in one, made he them.’ If the verse was intended to be understood in this way, evidently, the argument against divorce was very powerful indeed. However this may be, to alter Mark 10 : 6 by assuming a mistranslation is, unfortunately, too simple a solution. One remark may be added in conclusion, though it has been made by others before. The fact that Mark 10 : 6 says, ‘Male and female made he them’, with ‘God’ as the subject merely implied,<sup>1</sup> should not be urged in justification of emendations (and Torrey does not do it). These words are a literal quotation of Genesis 1 : 27 and 5 : 2, passages with which any Jewish audience, educated or uneducated, was thoroughly familiar : and the insertion of ‘God’ would have made the reference less rather than more intelligible.

#### IV. MARK 10 : 12.

The next case to be presented is Mark 10 : 12. Here, indeed, as has long been recognized, we find a saying that can hardly go back to a Jewish environment—though it will be shown that it just conceivably may. But it would be wrong to say, with Torrey, that the flaw was due to a slip of him who translated the Aramaic into Greek. For there still exist some Greek and Latin versions of the passage from which the flaw is absent. Accordingly, if we assume that the saying once was of a more typically Jewish character, the versions adverted to have preserved it intact : and it was changed not in the course of translation, but during its life in Greek. The problem of the relationship between this saying and its parallels, Matthew 5 : 32, 19 : 9 and Luke 16 : 8, cannot be disposed of by declaring the former a mistranslation.

<sup>1</sup> The English Bible says, ‘God made them male and female’ (so also Luther : *hat sie Gott geschaffen einen Mann und ein Weib*), and there is ancient authority for this. (See the apparatus.) There can be no doubt, however, that the *lectio difficilior*, without ‘God’, is the better reading.

Mark 10 : 12, to go by the commonest reading, says : ' And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery ' or ' he committeth adultery '. Torrey substitutes : ' And if she who has been divorced by her husband marries another, he committeth adultery. ' The reason he gives is : ' The Jewish woman, at this time, *could not* divorce her husband ; see Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 15 : 7 : 10, at the beginning. The reading here in Mark was not *pāt' rā l'gabrah*, " putting away her husband ", but *p'tirā l'gabrah*, " put away by her husband ", and the following verb was masculine. Observe that this is exactly what is said in Luke 16 : 18.'<sup>1</sup> Once again, however, there is another side to the matter. Certainly, a Jewish wife under Jewish law could not divorce her husband, and Mark 10 : 12, therefore, sounds odd. Certainly, by emending the passage as Torrey does, we get the same sense as in Luke 16 : 18, or for that matter, in Matthew 5 : 32*b* and 19 : 9*b*. Only it seems that, in the case under notice, if we adopt the method outlined, we are suppressing an interesting piece of textual—and general—history.

A Jewish woman under Jewish law could not divorce her husband ; but she could and, apparently, sometimes did run away from him (*halakh*, *yasa'*, *parash* in Hebrew, *n'phaq*, *p'rash* in Aramaic).<sup>2</sup> The possibility is contemplated by Paul in I Corinthians 7 : 10 f. Indeed, the rule that a wife ought not to separate from her husband and that, if she does, she ought not to marry another precedes the rule that a husband must not divorce his wife : ' Let not the wife depart from her husband. But and if she depart, let her remain unmarried . . . and let not the husband put away his wife. ' The point is that there is extant a variant reading of Mark 10 : 12 putting precisely this case. In D, the verse begins : ' And if a woman shall depart from her husband ', not : ' And if a woman shall put away her husband '.<sup>3</sup> And, strikingly enough, the same text underlies some versions of the *Itala*. Actually, most of the *codices* known

<sup>1</sup> *The Four Gospels*, pp. 91 and 302 ; see also *Our Translated Gospels*, pp. 93 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See D. Daube, *Theology*, 47, pp. 65 ff.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἄλλον γαμήσῃ, not καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὴ ἀπολύσασα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς γαμήσῃ ἄλλον.

to the present writer have a text compatible with Jewish law ; namely, MSS. Cantab. (D), Corb., Mun. and Veron., where the phrase used is *exire a viro*, MS. Verc., with *discedere a viro*, and MSS. Bob., Colb. and Holm., with *relinquere virum*. According to Nestle's apparatus,<sup>1</sup> the versions of the *Itala* supporting D are only few ('*pc it*'). Strictly speaking, this is true, since the versions with *relinquere virum* do not really render ἐξέρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός. They probably go back to a different Greek, lost to us. But the fact here relevant is that *relinquere virum* was possible for a Jewish wife. There is an essential difference between this and *dimittere virum*. Actually, the existence of two Latin forms compatible with Jewish law, pointing to two Greek forms, should render fairly difficult any attempt that might be made to declare all Latin versions of the saying here in question as descended from D, which in turn might be declared as for some reason or other irrelevant. In other words, the existence of different Latin versions compatible with Jewish law seems considerably to strengthen the hand of D.

Clearly, we thus have a basis for a solution far more probable than Torrey's. D and the relevant versions of the *Itala* have preserved the original form of the saying, with the wife not divorcing, but running away from, her husband. The other, commoner reading, with the wife divorcing her husband, was substituted at an early date. Nor is it difficult to see either how this happened or why the new reading almost completely ousted the original form. For one thing, Mark 10 : 11, the verse immediately preceding that here discussed, is directed against the husband divorcing his wife. So, indeed, are all remaining synoptic passages dealing with the subject, Matthew 5 : 32 ; 19 : 9 and Luke 16 : 18. Is it too rash to suggest that Mark 10 : 12 may have been assimilated to these passages, may have been made to refer, like them, to divorcing one's partner instead of to running away from him? (This would not be the only point where we can notice a tendency to assimilate to one another the various utterances concerning divorce.) For another thing, in the Graeco-Roman world, divorce of the husband by his wife was permissible and frequent.

<sup>1</sup> E. Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 3rd ed., p. 113.



Consequently, as soon as Mark 10 : 12 fell into Hellenistic hands, the version speaking of the woman divorcing her husband would appear perfectly natural. It may be added that the question whether the saying originally concluded with 'she committeth adultery' or with 'he committeth adultery' is of little moment in this connection.

So far, it has been assumed that the prevalent reading of Mark 10 : 12, with the wife divorcing her husband, could not have originated in a Jewish milieu. One might conceivably argue, however, in favour of its superiority—though it looks rather unlikely. The very story from Josephus quoted by Torrey, one might urge, shows that while Jewish law did not allow a woman to divorce her husband, there were circles in which this occurred. It should be observed that Josephus uses the same verb of Salome's action that is found in Mark. (It is true that he has the middle, ἀπολύεσθαι.) 'She sent him . . . a document, dissolving (ἀπολυομένη) the marriage, contrary to the laws of the Jews', he says of Salome's dismissal of her husband. Moreover, it might be said, there is the case of Herodias. Formally, she did not go quite as far as Salome. She did not, that is, write her husband a bill of divorce but just left him : Josephus records that she was τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διαστᾶσα (*Ant. Jud.* 18 : 5 : 4, 136). Yet she married again while her husband was still alive ; and it is strange that such criticism as has come down to us seems directed only against her marrying her husband's brother, not against her re-marrying as such. It is, of course, possible that the crime of incest was considered so monstrous that little mention was made of other weak points about her second marriage ; or again, her first husband may have divorced her when she left him. But it remains a remarkable affair.<sup>1</sup>

However, like several of Salome's and Herodias' actions, the ones referred to must have been of a very exceptional character—a slender basis for upholding the commoner reading

<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary here to go into details. The difficulties, especially those of a chronological nature, are well known. F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, pp. 100 f., takes the saying in Mark as directly referring to the action of Herodias.

in Mark 10 : 12.<sup>1</sup> Besides, if we take the commoner reading, with the wife divorcing her husband, as the better, we shall have to assume that D and the versions of the *Itala* agreeing with it got their text from a source in which the saying had for some reason or other been Judaised. (The possibility of an unwitting alteration with the effect of making the saying Jewish can safely be ruled out.) It is hard to believe in such a secondary harmonisation of the passage with the Jewish ideas on divorce ; and the existence of two different Latin forms consistent with Jewish law, on which something was said above, constitutes an additional obstacle in the way of such an explanation. In any case, without settling the claims of the common reading on the one hand and D and some versions of the *Itala* on the other, we find that Mark 10 : 12 alone of all synoptic passages concerning divorce contemplates the possibility of a wife leaving her husband. According to the commonest reading, the case put is that of divorce of the husband by his wife. This was not recognised in Jewish law ; but it was in Gentile law, and of Salome at least we know that she divorced her husband in spite of what Jewish law said. According to D and a number of versions of the *Itala*, the case put is that of a wife running away from her husband. Of this situation, frequent mention is made

<sup>1</sup> I did not consider the accounts of (a) Salome's divorce and (b) Herodias' offence in the article in *Theology* 47, cited above. The conclusions that I reached there are not substantially affected, save that to the terms occurring in Josephus which I gave in the last paragraph ought to have been added the following : (a) From *Ant. Jud.* 15 : 7 : 10, 259 f. (1) πέμπειν γραμμάτιον ἀπολυομένη τὸν γάμον, ‘to send a document, dissolving the marriage’, of Salome's illegal action. The same, Josephus remarks, would be legal if done by the husband. (2) προαπαγορεύειν τὴν συμβίωσιν, ‘to renounce the marriage’, of Salome's illegal action. (3) ἀποστήναι τοῦ ἀνδρός (aorist 2 of ἀφιστάναι), ‘to separate from the husband’, of Salome's illegal action. More precisely, this term, according to Josephus, was employed by Salome in explaining her step to Herod. It may well be that Josephus chose it in this connection because he thought it unlikely that Salome herself would have described her action as what it was : ἀποστήναι τοῦ ἀνδρός, being intransitive, could be applied to a wife running away from her husband. (4) διαχωρίζεσθαι (passive) καθ' αὐτήν, ‘to separate by her own decision’, of a wife who runs away from her husband. (5) ἐφίεναι, ‘to dismiss’, of a husband divorcing his wife. (b) From *Ant. Jud.* 18 : 5 : 4, 136 and 18 : 5 : 1, 110. (1) διαστήναι τοῦ ἀνδρός (aorist 2 of διιστάναι), ‘to separate from the husband’, of a wife running away from her husband. (2) ἐκβάλλειν, ‘to dismiss’, of a husband divorcing his wife.

in Rabbinic literature; and it is considered by Paul. The passage thus creates a most intricate problem. To assume a mistranslation and violently assimilate it to Luke 16 : 18, Matthew 5 : 32 and 19 : 9 is no answer: it is evading the real question.

V. MATTHEW 26 : 64, LUKE 6 : 27, JOHN 8 : 26.

In three passages, Matthew 26 : 64, Luke 6 : 27 and John 8 : 26, Torrey holds the particle 'but' to be a mistranslation of an Aramaic word which, he says, could mean this or 'more-over'. The view is not tenable. There is no reason to boggle at the passages in their present form; and the only Aramaic text quoted by Torrey does not show that the Aramaic word which he thinks underlies these 'buts' could mean 'moreover'.

In Matthew 26 : 64 we are told that, to the high priest's question whether he was the Christ, Jesus replied: 'Thou hast said; but I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power.' Torrey substitutes: 'You say it; moreover I tell you, You shall soon see . . .'. He explains: 'πλήν, the usual rendering of *b'ram*, is here a mistranslation, for the word meant "moreover", as not infrequently elsewhere (thus in Onkelos Genesis 20 : 12 it renders Hebrew *gam*).'<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Luke 6 : 27, as it stands, runs thus: 'But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies.' Torrey prefers: 'Moreover, I say to you who hear . . .'. His comment is: 'The word *b'ram* here meant "moreover also", not "but"; see note on Matthew 26 : 64.'<sup>2</sup> There is a third case of mistranslation of *b'ram*, in Torrey's view, John 8 : 26. In its present form, this verse reads: 'I have many things to say and to judge of you; but he that sent me is true; and I speak to the world those things which I have heard of him.' Torrey replaces this by: 'I have many things concerning you to say and to judge; also he who sent me is a sure reliance. . .'. In justification, he remarks: 'See notes on Matthew 26 : 64 and Luke 6 : 27.'<sup>3</sup> No doubt, in all three cases, Torrey's alteration produces a smoother text. Never-

<sup>1</sup> *The Four Gospels*, pp. 61 and 296.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 128 and 308.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 202 and 323.



theless his thesis can be accepted for none of them. The contrasting particles ( $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$  in Matthew,  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$  in Luke and John) are perfectly intelligible; in Matthew, ‘moreover’ can be shown to be most unlikely. Besides, it is doubtful whether *b’ram* would be capable of the meaning required by Torrey at all.

One argument against Torrey’s alteration of these passages may be derived from the very fact, just mentioned, that it produces a smoother text. Reading the Bible, the Old Testament or the New, one again and again comes up against a use of conjunctions not entirely in harmony with our academic logic or rhetoric. Admittedly, a Hebrew or Aramaic ‘but’ has not always the same weight as an English one. Yet the proper procedure surely is to try and acquire some sympathy with that peculiar style, find out what sort of contrast may be at the back of the ancient author’s mind. To pick out three passages and change ‘but’ into ‘moreover’ cannot be right. Why not add, say, Matthew 11 : 22, 24 and Luke 10 : 14? In these pericopes, curses are pronounced against the heartless Chorazin and Capernaum. The places are compared with Tyre and Sodom. The latter, if they had been allowed to witness the works performed by Jesus, would have repented and survived. At this point, Matthew continues, ‘But ( $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$ ) I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre at the day of judgment, than for you’; and Luke has, ‘But it shall be more tolerable . . .’. Would the logic of this not be improved by substituting ‘therefore’ for ‘but’? Maybe it would. But the verses under notice never formed part of a scientific treatise; and their authors saw nothing wrong in putting a conjunction that expressed a remoter idea, an idea not on the surface of the text but easily ‘felt’ by an audience accustomed to this manner. In a scientific treatise, we should register a gap in the argument. The present writer is not the first to discover this somewhat arbitrary use of conjunctions in the Bible: it looks to him as if the Rabbis had noticed it. This, it is suggested, may well have been one of the factors contributing to the elaboration of the hermeneutic rules of *Ribbui* and *Mi’ut*.<sup>1</sup> The Rabbis, it

<sup>1</sup> For a brief description of *Ribbui* and *Mi’ut*, see H. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, transl. from the 5th German ed., p. 96.

seems, felt uncomfortable about certain conjunctions such as 'aph, gam and 'akh, and concluded that these must have a very special significance. (The rules will be referred to again below, in discussing the Aramaic text, Onkelos Genesis 20 : 12, appealed to by Torrey.) Needless to add, in elevated style, the establishing of contrasts is particularly to be expected. All the three passages attacked by Torrey contain important utterances of Jesus ; none of them, for instance, a mere narrative account of a journey.

If now the three passages are examined singly, there is first Matthew 26 : 64. It is superfluous here to decide whether the reply given by Jesus to the high priest meant ' Yes ', ' No ', ' Yes and No ', ' It is not for me to answer this question ' or any of the other nuances that have been proposed. It may be observed, however, that Strack-Billerbeck who, following Dalman, interpret it as a clear ' Yes ' <sup>1</sup> proceed from two questionable assumptions. They claim that the words *σὺ εἶπας* equal 'amarta in Hebrew. But though this is conceivable, they may well equal 'atta 'amarta, namely, if we regard *σὺ* as essential, as stressed ; and the difference is very considerable. They further claim that in one Rabbinic text (they admit there is only one, and it has 'amarta, not 'atta 'amarta), in Tosefta Kelim, 'amarta signifies ' You are right, it is so '. But even here the word may be taken as far less emphatic. Simon the Saint, severely reprimanded by Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, says : ' Rabbi, 'amarta '. This seems to mean : ' Rabbi, as thou hast said so, I shall submit.' In any case, what Torrey does is to co-ordinate the two clauses concerned, ' Thou hast said—I say unto you ', in an exact, scientific manner, which the text as it stands does not. In fact, he assimilates the text to the Markan version, in sense though not in wording. According to Mark 14 : 62, Jesus declared that he was the Christ in so many words : ' I am ; and ye shall see the Son of man sitting . . . '. Torrey's reconstruction of Matthew 26 : 64 comes to the same : ' You say it ; moreover, I tell you, You soon shall see . . . '. Such assimilation, tempting though it be, is always risky. In this

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 990.

case, everything speaks against it. It is hard to believe that a significant divergence between Matthew and Mark, occurring in one of the most vital scenes of the New Testament, should be due to nothing but a slip on the part of him who translated Matthew into Greek. It is most improbable that if the author of the present Matthew had had before him an Aramaic word capable of being rendered as ‘moreover’, he would not have gladly availed himself of the opportunity; in other words, most improbable that if he had been enabled by his source to emphasise the reference to the Messiahship in Jesus’ reply, he would not have done so.<sup>1</sup> Be that as it may, clearly, we have to choose between two alternatives. Either the author of the present Matthew wanted a solemn, unambiguous affirmation of the Messiahship; in this case, he would have put ‘more-over’ had there been the slightest authorisation. Or he did not want this; in this case, we can hardly say anything about the (hypothetical) Aramaic original, since he might have put *πλην* even if the Aramaic had a slightly different conjunction.

Going on to Luke 6 : 27, we find this verse opening a series of injunctions like ‘Love your enemies’, ‘Bless them that curse you’. Several interpretations of the particle ‘but’ at the beginning of the verse have been attempted. The one apparently most popular at the present time says that while the section immediately preceding the verse under notice is devoted to condemnations of the rich, who are absent, from 6 : 27 onwards it is again the disciples present at the sermon that are addressed. After ‘Woe unto you that are full, Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you’, 6 : 27 means : ‘But to you who are here listening I say, Love your enemies.’<sup>2</sup> This explanation is quite good enough. (If only we had equally good ones of many ‘buts’ not rejected by Torrey !) It is worth noting that the rules ‘Love your enemies’ and so on are introduced by a contrasting particle (*δέ*) also in Matthew, in 5 : 21 ff.; though, indeed, the contrast here is between the old and new ways of

<sup>1</sup> Luther translates Luke 22 : 70 by, *Er sprach zu ihnen : Ihr sagt es, denn ich bin's*, and John 18 : 37 by, *Du sagst es, ich bin ein König*. The A.V. is more reticent.

<sup>2</sup> See J. M. Creed, *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, pp. 92 f., and E. Klostermann, *Das Lukasevangelium*, 2nd ed., pp. 80 f.



life: 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour . . . But I say unto you, Love your enemies.'

There remains John 8:26. The present writer is inclined to take ἀλλά here to mean more or less the same as it means in verse 28. (These variations on a theme are by no means rare in John.) If this is correct, we may paraphrase as follows: 'I have many things to say and judge of you. But it is not ordinary things, not things that I invent myself and you may accept or reject as you please: he that sends me is true and his things I speak.' Bauer would make a different contrast.<sup>1</sup> On his view, we get something like: 'I have many things to condemn at the present. But I have to continue since God is true and I must not make my mission dependent on success or failure; his things I have to speak.' This is certainly a strong possibility. Obviously, there is no reason to despair and violently eliminate 'but' from the text.

So much for the passages concerned themselves. How strong is Torrey's Aramaic position? He says that *b'ram*, of which *πλήν* or *ἀλλά* is a good rendering, not infrequently meant 'moreover'; this possibility the evangelist-translators seem to have overlooked. The present writer cannot deny that *b'ram* might be used as denoting 'moreover', though he is unable to call any instances to mind and the dictionaries, in so far as they support Torrey's view, are misleading.<sup>2</sup> Of the one illustration offered by Torrey, at any rate, it must be said that it proves nothing, and this despite the fact that he might have appealed to the authority of Dalman's dictionary.<sup>3</sup> Genesis 20:12 is a very special case. The situation is this. Abraham has described Sarah as his sister to Abimelech, Abimelech has taken her into his harem, God has threatened Abimelech and commanded him to return her, and now Abimelech blames Abraham

<sup>1</sup> See W. Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 2nd ed., pp. 118 f.

<sup>2</sup> I am preparing a note on the meanings of *b'ram*, in which I hope to show that the particle expresses a contrast even in the few passages where the dictionaries say it does not. Here it will be sufficient to deal with Genesis 20:12, the text relied on by Torrey, and the parallel case of Genesis 30:34 (see below, p. 96).

<sup>3</sup> G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch*, cites this text for *b'ram* in the sense of *auch*, 'also'.

for having wronged him. Abraham replies that he acted from fear of being murdered if he told the truth. This comes in verse 11. But he adds another defence, the claim that he did tell the truth : Sarah is his sister, they have the same father, though not the same mother. (Of course, Abimelech, told by the new-comer that the woman with him was his sister, had concluded that she was no more than that.) The precise logical connection of this second defence with the first is difficult to establish. The Hebrew confines itself to noting the sheer fact that here is a further excuse : ‘And also (*w’gham*), really, she is my sister.’ The LXX takes a similar line, rendering *w’gham* as *καὶ γάρ*. But Onkelos may have wished to give prominence to a more particular aspect. He may have wished to stress that, though Abraham was prompted by fear, his actual words contained no untruth. If so, *ubh’ram*, ‘and yet’, was a natural choice : ‘And yet, in reality, she is my sister.’<sup>1</sup> By putting ‘and yet’ he may have intended to make Abraham emphasise that no charge of dishonesty can be preferred against him ; ‘and also’ is weaker. That Onkelos was given to introducing his interpretations into the text in the most subtle manner is well known. In any case, the exact relation between the two defences is obscure, deliberately left obscure by the Bible : we have to remember that the second defence is an instance of a method which, in the ancient world, counted as clever and at the same time not quite fair.<sup>2</sup> If in these circumstances the Hebrew co-ordinates the clauses concerned by means of ‘and also’ and Onkelos by means of *ubh’ram*, this does not show that the latter particle could ever be used in the same sense as the former.

As a matter of fact, in the present writer’s opinion, there most probably is a deeper reason why Onkelos chose *ubh’ram*. It should be noted that he has another *b’ram* in the same verse : ‘And yet (*ubh’ram*) indeed she is my sister, the daughter of my father, only (*b’ram* for the second time, *’akh* in the Hebrew

<sup>1</sup> It is worth remarking that the A.V. goes with Onkelos. Luther, on the other hand, gives a literal rendering of the Hebrew : *Auch ist sie wahrhaftig meine Schwester*. The ambiguity has its root in the incident itself, and there is little point in requiring exactitude of translators in such a case.

<sup>2</sup> See D. Daube, *Cambridge Law Journal*, 8, p. 75.

text) not the daughter of my mother.' Onkelos disliked using the same word twice in one verse. Where the Hebrew text does it, he preferred to put different, synonymous words (if at all possible) rather than be a faithful reflection of the original.<sup>1</sup> Yet here we find him opening a verse with what is a most offensive *ubh'ram* if repetitions are to be outlawed, whereas the Hebrew has first *w'gham*, 'and also', and then '*akh*, 'yet'. Surely, we have to look for a serious motive. Now Genesis 20 : 12 was a very inconvenient text for the Rabbis. The Rabbis could not admit that Abraham and Sarah had the same father. They could not admit that Abraham, the pious, should have contracted an incestuous marriage, like the ordinary 'children of Noah'. They maintained that Sarah was Abraham's niece, identifying her with Iscah in Genesis 11 : 29. But Genesis 20 : 12 was a stumbling-block. For here Abraham seemed himself to call Sarah his sister. The Rabbis explained that he was not giving the word 'sister' its full force : one's grandchildren are, in a way, like one's children, they argued, and therefore, Abraham's niece, his father's grandchild, was, in a way, like his father's child. It was in this weaker sense that Abraham styled her his sister. This was a highly important matter, which Onkelos would be almost compelled to bring out in his translation. Was there a way of doing it?

There was. Reference has already been made to the hermeneutic rules of *Ribbui* and *Mi'ut*. From a very early date (tradition ascribes the invention of the method to Nahum of Gimzo, and of his pupil Akiba we know that he employed it a great deal), the exegetes assumed that certain particles might have a very special significance beyond the one immediately discernible. Thus the particle *gam*, 'also', was supposed to extend the statement in which it occurred to something not explicitly mentioned. Exodus 19 : 9 reads : 'And the Lord said unto Moses, Lo, I come to thee . . . that the people may hear when I speak with thee, and also (*w'gham*) in thee believe for ever.' The particle *w'gham*, the Rabbis contend, is chosen in order that the prophets coming after Moses be included : in these also the people have to believe. Obviously, the Hebrew opening

<sup>1</sup> See A. Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, part 2, pp. 211 ff.



of Genesis 20 : 12, 'And also (*w'gham*) she is my sister', was rather awkward for Onkelos; it strengthened the statement whereas he was out to tone it down. The Hebrew particle that would have met all difficulties was '*akh*', 'yet', 'only', *πλήν*. This particle, for the Rabbis, indicated a limitation not expressed. An early Halakic application of this rule is to be found in the Mekiltha on Exodus 31 : 13: 'Yet (*'akh*) my sabbaths ye shall keep.' This verse is interpreted by R. Jose Ha-gelili thus: 'The word '*'akh*' implies a restriction. There are Sabbaths on which thou must rest and there are Sabbaths on which thou mayst not rest (namely, thou mayst not rest if a human life is to be saved).' An illustration from the province of Haggadah is furnished by a comment on Genesis 7 : 23: 'And Noah only (*'akh*) remained alive and they that were with him in the ark.' The Rabbis deduce that Noah did not remain unhurt; from the '*'akh*' it follows that 'even he spat blood because of the cold'. Clearly, it was '*'akh*', *πλήν*, that the interpreters needed at the beginning of Genesis 20 : 12. 'And yet, '*'akh*', she is my sister': this would provide clear Scriptural proof that she was not his sister in the full sense of the word, this would put right that impossible utterance of Abraham. Here, it is submitted, seems to lie the real reason for Onkelos' use of *ubh'ram*, though it resulted in the same word occurring twice in this verse. This *ubh'ram* by which he regularly translated the Hebrew '*'akh*', by which, indeed, he translated '*'akh*' further on in the very same verse, this *ubh'ram* was designed to suggest—not that the Hebrew text had '*'akh*' (for an alteration of the Hebrew text itself would have been sacrilege) but that the Hebrew text was to be taken as if it had an '*'akh*', as if it had this particle drawing attention to a limitation not expressed. Abraham declared Sarah to be his niece only, not his sister.

Three points may be mentioned in conclusion as supporting this explanation. First, it has been seen for a long time that Onkelos was familiar with, and liked to employ, the methods of exegesis prevalent in Akiba's school.<sup>1</sup> His use of *Ribbui*

<sup>1</sup> See A. Berliner, *op. cit.*, pp. 107 f., 202, 245. There is no need here to inquire whether Berliner is right in using this fact as an argument in favour of an early date of Onkelos.

and *Mi'ut* cannot, therefore, cause any surprise. Secondly, it is important to recall that he manages to make a prohibition of incest of Genesis 2 : 24 : 'Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife.' According to an early Rabbinic view (the names of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and Akiba appear in this connection),<sup>1</sup> this verse means that a man shall leave, that is to say, not take, his close relatives when he chooses a wife. Onkelos translates nearly literally, but only nearly : 'Therefore shall a man leave the bedroom (*beth mishkabhe*) of his father and his mother . . .'. When we consider that the same expression is used by him in Genesis 49 : 4, the intention becomes quite clear. The latter passage contains Jacob's complaint about Reuben's incestuous commerce with Bilhah, about his 'going up to his father's bed'.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, Onkelos, it is submitted, makes exactly the same use of *b'ram* in Genesis 30 : 34 as in the text just analysed. The Bible records how Jacob asked Laban that, in future, if any spotted goats were born amongst the herd entrusted to him, they should be his ; and how Laban accepted the proposal with the words, 'Behold, would it might be according to thy word'. Onkelos renders 'behold' by *b'ram*. Why? It is well known that the agreement outlined turned out unexpectedly lucrative for Jacob, who did what the French politely describe as *corriger la fortune*. As is natural, the Rabbis claim that he did it in self-defence and that it was Laban who first broke the contract. In fact, according to the Rabbis, the verse quoted, Genesis 30 : 34, proves that Laban lied in the very act of agreeing, or rather, apparently agreeing : the words 'behold, would' are interpreted by them as meaning 'yes—no'. (The Hebrew *hen*, 'behold', is equated with the Aramaic *hen*, 'yes', and the particle *lu*, 'would', is read as *lo*, 'no'.<sup>3</sup>) 'R. Hiyya the Elder said', we are told in Genesis Rabba 73, 'Everything that Laban arranged with Jacob he retracted ten times even at the outset, for it is written, Yes—no.' Onkelos does not hesitate to follow this tradition, vindicat-

<sup>1</sup> See H. L. Strack-P. Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 802 f. Onkelos is not mentioned, however.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Berliner, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> See J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *lo*.

ing Jacob's honour at the expense of Laban's. That is why he translates, 'Only (*b'ram*) would it might be according to thy word': Laban, even while he appeared to consent, was already revoking. Once again, *b'ram* is chosen as introducing a limitation not expressed. Onkelos indicates that the word with which Laban opened his statement is to be construed as a case of *Mi'ut*: Laban meant less than he said. To conclude from this passage, as Dalman's dictionary does, that *b'ram* might denote 'certainly' or 'yes' (*gewiss, fürwahr, ja*) is wrong. The Targum's deviation from the Hebrew 'behold' is quite deliberate: by putting *b'ram*, Onkelos makes Laban negate, not emphasise, his acceptance of Jacob's proposal.

The upshot seems to be that, in adducing Genesis 20:12 for *b'ram* in the sense of 'moreover', Torrey has not taken account of the exceptional nature of this case. In this text, at any rate, and in Genesis 30:34 also, not only does *b'ram* not signify 'moreover' but, in all probability, it is put as a most weighty '*akh*', 'and yet', *πλήν*.

## VI. MATTHEW 5:48.

The last case from Torrey to be investigated is Matthew 5:48. His assumption of mistranslation is unacceptable. The Aramaic conjectured by him could have neither the meaning that he supposes it originally had nor the meaning that he supposes the translator mistakenly gave it. The passage can be understood without recourse to emendation of any kind.

Matthew 5:48 reads: 'Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.' Torrey substitutes: 'Be therefore all-including (in your good will), even as your heavenly Father includes all.' He comments thus: "'Be therefore perfect", etc., would be mere nonsense, even if it were not wholly unprepared for in this context. Nothing here leads up to the idea of perfection—to say nothing of equalling the perfection of God himself! In this paragraph, vss. 43-47, the disciples are taught that they must show kindness to *all men*; just as their heavenly Father makes no exception. The explanation of the false rendering lies, very obviously, in the fact that



the form of *g'mar* (certainly used here) was active, not passive, in significance. *H'wo gam'rin* (or, *g'mirin*) meant "be all-including", making no exception in your kindness. (On *g'mir* in the active sense, see e.g. Babylonian Shabbath 63a: "When I was eighteen years of age, I had completed, *g'mir'na*, the whole Talmud"; Babylonian Hagigah 3a: *h'wo g'mire hilqatha*, "they learned all the Halakoth".)<sup>1</sup> This reconstruction, however, does not commend itself. It is impossible because the Aramaic given by Torrey does not signify what he says, and it is unnecessary because the Matthean text as it stands is in line with Rabbinic thinking.

The first objection to be raised against Torrey's view is that his Aramaic will account neither for the original saying postulated by him nor for the mistranslation. In other words, *h'wo gam'rin* or *g'mirin* could never have meant 'be all-including', nor could it ever have been taken as 'be perfect'. Regarding the former point, *g'mar* signifies 'to complete' but not 'to include'. The difference is small but, in this case, of decisive importance. You can 'complete' an action, a work and the like; but if you extend your good will to all men, you do not 'complete' them, you 'include' them. The latter meaning *g'mar* simply has not got. In the two illustrations adduced by Torrey (if, for a moment, his rendering of them be adopted, though something will be said on it presently), 'to complete' and 'to include' are rather near one another: 'to complete' the whole Talmud or all the Halakoth is much the same thing (though not quite the same) as 'to include' them. The verbs are far from synonymous, however, when they take persons as direct objects. 'To complete' a person might be used with reference, say, to God's finishing Adam by giving him a soul. Here *g'mar* would no doubt be suitable. (It could also be employed as signifying 'to destroy' a person or, in the Aphel, 'to teach' a person.) 'To include' a person means something entirely different. Here *g'mar* would not be suitable, which rules out the original saying as conjectured by Torrey. It is seldom wise to affirm the absence of a certain usage from a large body of literature.

<sup>1</sup> *The Four Gospels*, pp. 12 and 291; also *Our Translated Gospels*, pp. 92 ff., 96.

But the present writer feels safe in maintaining that there is not a single instance in Talmud or Midrash where *g'mar* denotes ‘to include a person’. It may be added that even if the word did mean ‘to include’, one would still want some evidence that *h'wo gam'rin* could have the abstract, general sense ascribed to it by Torrey. Even if the word did mean ‘to include’, that is, to claim that for ‘be including everybody in your good will’ a preacher in Aramaic might put a mere ‘be including’ would still be assuming a kind of diction of which there is no trace anywhere in the Sermon on the Mount.

It is to be observed, incidentally, that in neither of the two texts cited by Torrey does *g'mir* signify even ‘to complete’: it is used in the technical sense of ‘to learn’, ‘to study’. How, in Babylonia, this meaning grew out of the meaning ‘to complete’ cannot be said with certainty, though Bacher has made a probable suggestion.<sup>1</sup> At any rate, it is ‘to learn’, ‘to study’, that *g'mir* signifies both in Babylonian Shabbath 63*a* and Babylonian Hagigah 3*a*. In the former passage, R. Kahana declares: ‘When I was 18 years old, I had learnt, studied, the whole Talmud, yet I did not know that a verse (outside the Pentateuch) could not depart from its plain meaning.’ The latter passage is concerned with the question whether a dumb person is able ‘to learn, study’ the Law. A story is told of a cure of two dumb people by R. Judah the Prince, whose lectures they had regularly attended for a long time; and it was found that ‘they were learning, studying, the Halakoth, Sifra, Sifre and the whole Talmud’. However, this is a minor matter. What is fatal to Torrey’s thesis is that *g'mar* does not mean ‘to include’.

The next step, according to Torrey, was the mistranslation of *h'wo gam'rin* or *g'mirin* as ‘be perfect’. But the phrase could mean this no more than ‘be all-including’. Here it seems that Torrey has rashly attributed to *g'mar* the scope of the English ‘perfect’. In English, though we speak of ‘a perfect scoundrel’ just as well as ‘a perfect saint’, yet the injunction ‘be perfect’ is quite unambiguous: it means ‘be perfect saints’. (Even so, one asks oneself whether this possibility of using ‘be perfect’

<sup>1</sup>See W. Bacher, *Die Bibel- und Traditionsexegese Terminologie der Amoräer*, pp. 28 f.

for 'be perfect saints' may not be due precisely to the influence of Biblical texts like Matthew 5 : 48.) But in Rabbinic language, *g'mar* and all other words belonging to the same root are so neutral that the kind of perfection contemplated must always be expressed. A man may be described as *ṣaddiq gamur*, 'a perfect saint', or *rasha' gamur*, 'a perfect scoundrel'. But he can never be described as, or asked to become, *gamur* : it would simply make no sense. There are parallels in English. A man may be called 'a complete (absolute) saint' or 'a complete (absolute) scoundrel', but hardly 'complete (absolute)' without any further explanation; and the injunction 'be complete (absolute)' would be unintelligible. Once again the writer considers it safe to make a sweeping statement; and to say that there is not a single instance in Talmud or Midrash where *g'mar* or any other form of the verb, standing alone, denotes 'to be perfect'.

So far, the criticism advanced has been of a negative kind. The second objection against the reconstruction proposed by Torrey is of a more positive nature: it is submitted that Matthew 5 : 48 in its present form is neither nonsense nor unprepared for in the context—provided the Rabbinic background is taken into consideration. The idea that man ought to imitate God occurs in many religions. It is certainly very old in Judaism. It is at least adumbrated in passages like 'Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy' (Leviticus 19 : 2) or 'Thou shalt be perfect with the Lord thy God' (Deuteronomy 18 : 13). By the time of the Rabbis, it is almost a commonplace. A collection of relevant texts is given by Strack-Billerbeck.<sup>1</sup> Here it will be sufficient to draw attention to some of those in which we find the idea applied in exactly the way it is applied in Matthew 5 : 43 ff.; that is to say, in which to be like God means to be merciful or, even more specifically, to be merciful to all, good and bad, friends and enemies. First, Exodus Rabba 26 is worth mentioning. Commenting on Exodus 17 : 5 ('And the Lord said unto Moses, Go on before the people'), R. Meir said: 'What does *abhor* ("go on")

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 370, 372 f. and 386; vol. 2, p. 159.



mean? God said to Moses, Be like me: as I repay good for evil, so thou shalt repay good for evil. For it has been said (Micah 7 : 18), Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by (*w' obher*, the same verb as in Exodus 17 : 5) transgression? Next a discussion in Sifre Deuteronomy of Deuteronomy 11 : 22 (‘To walk in all his—the Lord’s—ways’) may be quoted. ‘It has been said (Joel 3 : 5), Whoever shall be called by the name of the Lord<sup>1</sup> shall be delivered. But how is it possible for a man to be called by the name of God? The words mean, As God is called merciful and gracious (Exodus 34 : 6), so thou shalt be merciful and gracious and make gifts to all without reward; as God is called righteous (Psalm 145 : 17), so thou shalt be righteous; as God is called loving (*ibid.*), so thou shalt be loving. This is why it has been said, Whosoever shall be called by the name of the Lord shall be delivered.’ It should be noted that mercy and graciousness are here defined as the readiness to ‘make gifts to all without reward’; this is distinctly reminiscent of Matthew. Lastly, there is the story of R. Joshua b. Levi and the Jew who became a Christian and made life difficult for the Rabbi by quoting Scripture for his new faith (Babylonian Berakoth 7a). One night when R. Joshua went to bed, he tied a cock to his bedstead and decided to curse his enemy in the early hours of the morning: that, it seems, would have been a most effective procedure. But he overslept himself, and when he awoke he concluded: ‘From this one should learn that it is never seemly to curse, even as it is written (Psalm 145 : 9),<sup>2</sup> And his—the Lord’s—tender mercies are over all his works, and again (Proverbs 17 : 26), To punish is not good for the righteous.’<sup>3</sup> God’s kindness to all his works (the word *ma’ase* used by the Psalmist includes everything

<sup>1</sup> The Midrash points *yiqqare’* instead of *yiqra’*; hence the meaning ‘shall be called by’ instead of ‘shall call on’ as in the English Bible.

<sup>2</sup> In Babylonian Sanhedrin 105b and Babylonian Abodah Zarah 4b, where the same anecdote is told, the reference to Psalm 145 : 9 is missing. There is no need here to decide whether it was contained in the original form of the story or no. For the purpose of this discussion it is enough to know that the argument of Matthew 5 : 48 was familiar to the Rabbis.

<sup>3</sup> This is a Midrashic interpretation of Proverbs 17 : 26; the English Bible translates, ‘To punish the just is not good’.

created by God) in this anecdote is made the basis for the teaching that one must not hate even a heretic.

But what seems particularly objectionable to Torrey is the use of the adjective 'perfect'. Yet it is clear that, for unsophisticated minds, there existed no inconsistency whatever between the duty to be like God and the duty to acknowledge his majesty, between perfection as an aim and the inevitable failure of all attempts to reach it.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the Rabbis did not hesitate on occasion to call certain people 'perfect' regardless of the doctrine that nobody ever lived without sin. Basing himself on Genesis 17 : 1, 'Walk before me and be thou perfect', a verse the Rabbis early connected with circumcision, Judah the Prince observed (Mishnah Nedarim 3 : 11) : 'Great is circumcision, for despite all the commandments that Abraham performed he was not called "perfect" until he was circumcised.' It is quite possible that this remark was directed against the very notion expressed by Matthew 5 : 48, the notion of perfection through the fulfilment of moral ideals only, to the exclusion of ritual.

The question might be asked why Matthew 5 : 48 should insist on 'perfection' while the parallel verse, Luke 6 : 36, says, 'Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful'; a way of putting it not criticised by Torrey. One possible solution might be to take Matthew 5 : 48 not, as the author has done up to this point, as referring only to 5 : 43 ff., but as covering the whole section from 5 : 21 onwards.<sup>2</sup> In other words, Matthew 5 : 48 may speak of perfection because it contemplates not only the one virtue of loving one's enemies but also the acceptance of all the other principles set forth in 5 : 21 ff., such as freedom from impure desire, abstention from oaths : the verse may be a general summing up, while Luke 6 : 36 clearly

<sup>1</sup> See E. Klostermann, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 2nd ed., pp. 50 ff. An exhortation to perfection is to be found also in James 1 : 4, though it is not said that it must be the perfection of God. If the passage is an echo of Matthew 5 : 48, it is a very remote one. Dibelius observes (*op. cit.*, p. 73) that in putting τέλειοι καὶ ὁλόκληροι, 'James worries about the relativity of all human perfection just as little as other authors of wisdom sayings in similar connections; compare Sirach 44 : 17, Wisdom of Solomon 9 : 6, Matthew 5 : 48,

<sup>2</sup> See E. Klostermann, *loc. cit.*

has regard to the love of enemies and similar virtues only. However, it is quite unnecessary to connect Matthew 5 : 48 with the entire section 5 : 21 ff. The examples cited above from Rabbinic literature distinctly indicate a tendency to regard mercy as God's chief quality ; and to prescribe the exercise of mercy as the conduct bringing man nearest to God, to perfection. It is interesting to find a warning in the Palestinian Talmud against this reduction of God's qualities, and man's struggle to be like God, to the exercise of mercy.<sup>1</sup> 'Those who paraphrase Leviticus 22 : 28 thus', R. Jose b. Abin says, 'My people, children of Israel, as I am merciful in heaven, so you shall be merciful on earth : A cow or ewe, ye shall not kill it and her young both in one day—they do not right, since they make consist the qualities of God<sup>2</sup> in mercy only.' The paraphrase censured by the Rabbi is still extant, namely, in the Jerusalemite Targum, only that the Targum says 'As our Father is merciful' instead of 'As I am merciful'. (Ought we to treat the paraphrase preserved in the Targum as a proper version of the saying to be found in Matthew 5 : 48 and Luke 6 : 36 ? Ought we to accord it some recognition, beside the passages from the gospels, in considering the oral tradition behind these ? The present writer has never found this possibility contemplated. In any case, R. Jose b. Abin, in attacking the paraphrase, most probably meant to attack also, if not mainly, the Christian attitude.) Manifestly, the ground was well prepared for Matthew's use of 'perfect'. This is not claiming that his version is more original than Luke's.<sup>3</sup> The question of priority need not here be raised at all.

In view, then, of the Rabbinic passages adduced, to which others could be added, Matthew 5 : 48 appears to be in order. God loves both the just and unjust : man must do the same, and thus be perfect like God. This is a line of thought with which the Jewish readers of Matthew at any rate were well

<sup>1</sup> See H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 159, and vol. 3, p. 399.

<sup>2</sup> One of the two versions in which this dictum is preserved has 'the commandments of God'.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Creed, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 f., prefers Luke, arguing that Matthew has a liking for *τέλειος*.



acquainted. It has already been noticed that, for the evangelists, there can have existed no inconsistency between the call to be like God and true humility. One further point, however, may be mentioned in conclusion. According to Torrey, the argument of Matthew 5 : 43 ff. runs as follows : (1) Ye have heard, Thou shalt love thy neighbour. (2) I say, Love your enemies. (3) That ye may be the children of your Father, who sendeth rain on the just and unjust. (4) For if ye love them which love you, do not even the publicans the same? (5) Be therefore all-including like God. Admittedly, point 5 constitutes a perfectly logical conclusion (though, as has been shown, a conclusion no more logical from a Rabbinic point of view than the traditional one). But it is a good deal duller, a good deal less dynamic, than the ending as it stands : Be therefore perfect like God. It is duller and less dynamic even than Luke's ending of the corresponding section, 6 : 36 (not questioned by Torrey) : Be therefore merciful like God. This fact alone would make one hesitate to approve of the emendation.

#### VII. 'IMPROVING' THE ETHICS OF THE GOSPELS

The method of conjecturing an Aramaic original with a different sense from the Greek is particularly dangerous where religious issues are involved. The present writer is not competent to examine the respective merits of various schools of theology. But a word of warning from the purely philological point of view may not be out of place. It is a sound principle in dealing with an ancient work (to be sure, it must be applied with caution), if one has to choose between two readings, to prefer that which must have been less agreeable to the public interested in the work. On the basis of this principle, future historians having before them a Greek supported by old textual evidence but theologically inconvenient and an Aramaic attained by conjecture but theologically pleasing will do well to rely on the former and disregard the latter. Obviously, a modernisation of the ethics of the gospels by postulating a suitable Aramaic is a game as easy as unsafe. (It is also, of course, superfluous.) A very slight misinterpretation by the Greek translator will account for the death of the Gadarene swine. (Lest the follow-

ing be misunderstood, however, the writer should perhaps adopt the method that he found used in an edition of Molière. There a footnote is attached to the conversation between Argan and the two Diafoirus's, saying : *C'est comique.*) The Aramaic word used to describe what happened in Matthew 8 : 32, Mark 5 : 13 and Luke 8 : 33 was *ṭuph*. This verb could indeed be employed as signifying ‘to be drowned’. In Mishnah Aboth 2 : 7 we are told how Hillel, on seeing a skull floating in the water, exclaimed : ‘Because thou drownedst (*di'aṭepht*), they drowned thee (*aṭiphukh*), and at last they that drowned thee (*m'ṭayphayikh*) shall be drowned (*y'ṭuphun*).’ The Greek translator, therefore, proceeded from *ṭuph* in this application : hence the present text. But the proper meaning of *ṭuph* is ‘to swim’ ; and the translator ought to have taken it in this sense and said, not that ‘they were choked in the sea’, but that ‘they swam in the sea’.

IN COMMEMORATION OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD,  
EXECUTED ON TOWER HILL, LONDON,  
JANUARY 10, 1645.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. J. R. H. MOORMAN, D.D.

JANUARY 10, 1645, was a cold, grey day in London. Heavy clouds hung over the City, and a cold, wintry wind blew along the narrow streets. But this did not prevent a large crowd from gathering that morning on Tower Hill to watch the execution of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. From an early hour the streets were full of people making their way towards the Tower, and soon the open space around the scaffold was densely crowded. Some had come out of mere curiosity. An execution was a sight worth seeing ; it provided, free of charge, a few minutes of excitement in a life which, even in the City, was often dull and monotonous. Waiting there on that chilly morning these sightseers could forget the cold in the pleasant thought that within an hour or two they would see the axe fall and an old man's head roll across the boards. Others who had come that morning were kept warm by cherishing that cheapest of all emotions—righteous anger. At last (so they were thinking) this wicked man is being brought to justice. For years he had been trying to destroy the Protestant religion and subvert the laws of the Kingdom. Now Nemesis had overtaken him. What cared they for the cold when their hearts were on fire with indignation and with joy that their enemy was at last brought to shame and destruction ? But there were others whose hearts were heavy. They had been drawn to Tower Hill not out of morbid curiosity, that strange sadism which finds its satisfaction in watching the sufferings of others. Nor were they drawn by any lust of revenge. They had come to support with their prayers and their sympathy a man whom some respected and a few loved.

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th January, 1945.



At the appointed hour Laud, with the officers of the Tower, climbed up on to the scaffold, but so dense was the crowd that he had some difficulty in making his way to the block. As he was led through the crowd many were struck by his remarkable composure. From the moment when he had been informed of his fate he had, in fact, been unusually calm. Peter Heylyn, his chaplain, notes that "on the Evening before his *Passover*, the night before the dismal Combate betwixt him and *Death*, after he had refreshed his Spirits with a moderate Supper, he betook himself unto his Rest, and slept very soundly, till the time came, in which his Servants were appointed to attend his Rising". Another contemporary account tells us that "whereas other men, when they come to the *Block*, use to look pale and wan, and ghastly, and are even dead before the blow, he on the contrary seem'd more fresh and cheerful than he had done any part of the day before, a clear and gallant Spirit being like the Sun, which shews greatest always at the setting". Others, observing how good a colour he had, declared among themselves that he had painted his face in order to hide his fears: but their words died on their lips when they saw the face turn grey after the blow had been struck.

Having taken his place on the scaffold the Archbishop turned to address the crowd. He held in his hands some sheets of paper from which he read his sermon and which he afterwards handed to one of his chaplains.

"Good people", he said, "this is an uncomfortable time to preach; yet I shall begin with a text of Scripture: *Let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of our faith . . .*". He then spoke of how he had run his "race" and of how he had tried to "look to Jesus". From this he passed to the troubles in the Kingdom and declared that though he has "ransacked every corner of his heart" he cannot find that he has done anything worthy of death, and he thanks God that "though the weight of my Sentence lie Heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my life". After a reference to two previous Archbishops who had met with a violent death—S. Alphege and Simon Sudbury—he goes on to speak of three "particulars" which were close

to his heart. First he spoke loyally of the King, declaring that he was "as good a Protestant . . . as any man in this Kingdom". Then he referred to the City of London, pleading that the citizens should learn to respect justice. Finally he spoke of the Church of England "like an Oak cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft Prophaneness and Irreligion is entring in".

The sermon ended, Laud asked that a space might be cleared around the block so that he might "have room to die". Then (in Heylyn's words) "seeing through the Chink of the Boards that some people were got under the Scaffold about the very place where the block was seated, he called to the Officers for some dust to stop (the chinks), or to remove the people thence, saying, it was no part of his desires that his blood should fall upon the heads of the people". After a short passage of words with a certain Sir John Clotworthy, who had forced his way on to the platform with the sole purpose of insulting the Archbishop, Laud gave the customary gratuity to the executioner, praying that God would forgive him and desiring him to "do his office" with mercy. Then after a final prayer he laid his head on the block crying "Lord, receive my soul". This was the agreed signal to the headsman, who "very dexterously did his Office, and took off his head at a blow".

In this sermon from the scaffold Laud had referred to two Archbishops of Canterbury who had met with violent deaths. In point of fact there had been four—Alphege in 1012, Becket in 1170, Sudbury in 1381 and Cranmer in 1556. They were men who differed considerably in character, and they owed their deaths to a diversity of causes. They were not all martyrs, though most of them have been claimed as such by their supporters. Alphege died as a Christian patriot rather than as a martyr, for he fell as a victim to the Danish invaders. Becket's claim to martyrdom was never doubted by the medieval mind. His shrine was an attraction to pilgrims from all over Europe and, incidentally, a source of very considerable revenue to its owners, the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury. But we of to-day cannot feel that the martyr's crown sits very easily on the head of Thomas Becket. He died not for his faith but because

England was not big enough in those days to hold two men of such strength of will as he and Henry II. Poor Simon Sudbury was the victim of mob violence. He owed his death not to his faith but to his position, for he had the misfortune to live in a time of revolution and to occupy a high position among those whom the rebels were not prepared to tolerate. Cranmer, who was deposed in 1554 and burnt to death two years later, came nearest of the four to being a martyr, for he died for what he believed to be right and true when he could easily have saved his life by recantation.

And so we come to William Laud, the fifth and last Archbishop to meet with a violent death. He was not a victim of war like Alphege, nor of a sudden outburst of fury like Becket and Sudbury, nor was he, like Cranmer, a man who willingly laid down his life because of his faith. Why, then, did he die? As we are to-day observing the Tercentenary of his death it is to this question that we must now devote ourselves.

If there were, among the crowd who assembled on Tower Hill on January 10, 1645, some who, in Heylyn's words, "came thither with no other intention than to assist him with their Prayers, to embalm his body with their tears, and to lay up his last Speeches in their hearts and memories" they undoubtedly formed only a small minority of the spectators. The vast majority both feared and hated him. There must be few people whose misfortune it has been to be so much disliked as William Laud. For years it was scarcely safe for him to go about London and even the street-urchins used to shout the punning catchword: "Give little laud to the devil". As early as 1629, four years before he became primate, he notes in his diary that a libel had been published in London saying: "Laud, look to thyself; be assured thy life is sought. As thou art the fountain of all wickedness, repent thee of thy monstrous sins, before thou be taken out of the world." As the years went by such libels became more common, and after his imprisonment in 1640 a stream of scurrilous literature poured from the Puritan presses of London heaping every kind of abuse upon the head of the Archbishop, while in Parliament speakers vied with one another in their desire to vilify the man whom the



country so bitterly hated. In the fourth volume of Rushworth's *Historical Collections* we can read the speech of Mr. Harbottle Grimston in the House of Commons. "We are now fallen", he cried, "upon the great Man the Archbishop of Canterbury. Look upon him as he is in Highness, and he is the Sty of all Pestilential filth . . . the only Man that hath raised and advanced all those that, together with himself, have been the Authors and Causes of all our Ruines, Miseries and Calamities we now Groan under. . . . He hath been the great and Common Enemy of all Goodness and Good men; and it is not safe that such a Viper should be near His Majesty's Person to distil his Poyson into His Sacred Ears." Such was the atmosphere in which the last few years of Laud's life were lived. Life under such circumstances must have been extremely uncomfortable, and it is not hard to believe that he was glad when the headsman's axe put an end to his troubles.

But mere personal animosity is scarcely enough to bring an archbishop to death unless, like Becket and Sudbury, he be lynched. But Laud was not battered to death by a gang of ruffians nor was he hacked to pieces by the mob. He was made to submit to a trial which lasted several years, and he was finally sentenced to death by Act of Parliament. In a sense the action taken against him was perfectly legal even though no impartial observer could regard it as just.

When Laud was arrested on December 18, 1640, he was charged with offences on fourteen points which may be divided under four headings. He was accused of having assumed tyrannical powers, of having perverted justice, of having tried to introduce Popery and of having stirred up strife. After a very tedious trial which lasted over three years the charges were reduced to two: first that he had attempted to alter the true Protestant religion into Popery, and secondly that he had tried to subvert the laws of the Kingdom. On these two charges a bill of attainder was introduced into the House of Commons on November 1, 1644. It passed quickly and was accepted by the Lords on January 4, 1645. Within a week Laud was dead.

Anyone who has taken the trouble to study the proceedings during the trial of the Archbishop must admit that the charges

against Laud were, for the most part, fantastic. To each accusation Laud had a perfectly adequate reply. But the powers which were then in control of public affairs were not prepared to let principles stand in the way of policy. It was, in their view, a political necessity that the two chief servants of the King, Strafford and Laud, should be destroyed. If that could be done through any ordinary legal process, well and good. If not, then some extraordinary means, such as an act of attainder, must be found.

So again we are thrown back to the question: why were they so anxious to destroy the Archbishop? why was there this violent and unreasonable animosity against him? To understand the answer to this question we need to have some idea of the politico-religious turmoil of the seventeenth century. To-day, when religion has been so much dissociated from politics and when such strenuous efforts are being made to foster co-operation and good feeling among Christians of different denominations, it is hard to realise the enmity which quite normal people then felt towards those whose religious views differed from their own. The only thing in our own day which is at all comparable is the animosity which exists between so-called Fascists and Communists. We all know how normally gentle and peaceable citizens of a Left-wing persuasion can be suddenly roused almost to the pitch of violence when the subject of fascism is raised. So it was in the early seventeenth century; but then the hostility was between Papists and Puritans. To the mind of the Puritan the Papist was the embodiment of all that was most vile and repulsive; and no doubt the Papist felt just the same about the Puritan, though he had little opportunity of saying so.

Now Laud was neither Papist nor Puritan. The charge against him that he had tried to undo the work of the Reformers and lead England back to Rome was fantastic. After his famous controversy with the Jesuit, Fisher, he was greatly feared and disliked by the whole Roman Catholic community in this country from the Queen downwards. This, one would have thought, might have made the Puritans look more favourably upon him. But far from it. To their minds there was only one form of

religion which was at all tolerable, and that was their own. They knew—indeed, they must have known—that Laud was no Papist ; but because he was obviously not a Puritan they charged him with being an Arminian and then declared that Arminianism was only Popery in disguise. The argument was so illogical that in normal times no sensible man could have taken it seriously. But the times were not normal ; and when tempers are hot and feeling runs high men are little inclined for logic.

How high the feeling ran can be seen by a reference to any of the pamphlets which were angrily churned out by the presses of London. “Of all creatures”, wrote Bastwick, “bishops, priests and deacons are most wicked, ungrateful, disobedient and rebellious. . . . The prelates are worse than the devil. . . . They are rook-catchers, soul-murdering hirelings, atheists, a commonwealth of rats.” Burton calls them “limbs of the beast, miscreants, traps and wiles of the dragon-dogs ; like flattering tales, new Babel-builders, blind watchmen, dumb dogs, thieves, robbers of souls, false prophets, ravening wolves, anti-Christian mushrumps”. As an essay in invective this sort of thing must rank high, but it could hardly be allowed to pass by the bench of bishops. At the trial of Burton, Bastwick and Prynne, Laud said rather plaintively : “Our main crime is that we are *bishops* ; were we not so, some of us might be as passable as other men.” In so saying the Archbishop spoke no more than the truth. In the eyes of the Puritans for a man to be a bishop was enough to condemn him out of hand, without any reference to his character, or his work, or his intentions.

As a Churchman and as the head of the Anglican communion Laud inevitably aroused the dislike and suspicion of the Puritan party. His passion for uniformity and discipline which made him hunt down nonconforming clergy and break up their conventicles only made matters worse. More and more, as time went by, he acquired a reputation for arrogance and intolerance. Worse than being in alliance with the Pope of Rome, he seemed to be trying to set himself up as a Pope here in England. “I had rather serve a Pope as far as Tiber”, said Sir Edward Dering, “than to have him come to me so near as the Thames ; a Pope



at Rome will do me less hurt than a Patriarch may do at Lambeth."

All this was no doubt unjust ; but it gives us our first point. Laud stood condemned in the eyes of the party which was now rising to power because he was a Churchman and an archbishop. His main crime, as he said, was that he was a bishop. The whole Anglican communion lay under a cloud, and hostility was naturally greatest towards the man who held the primacy.

The second reason why Laud was so much disliked was that he had the misfortune to be a man of strong conservative instincts at a time when society was rapidly changing, and when power was passing more and more into the hands of the "progressives". In his attitude towards the monarchy and towards Parliament Laud was hopelessly reactionary. When James and Charles began to preach the theory of the Divine Right of Kings Laud supported them, not out of blind loyalty to the throne but because he believed the same doctrine himself. In the Canons of 1640 Laud wrote : "the most high and sacred order of Kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime laws of nature, and clearly established by express texts both of the Old and New Testaments". And again : "Subjects [who] bear arms against their Kings . . . upon any pretence whatsoever . . . shall receive to themselves damnation". This sort of thing might have been accepted in the days of Elizabeth or of her father, but it was no use at all when the storm-clouds of civil war were already gathering, and when each man had to decide whether to stand for loyalty or for liberty.

Like all reactionaries, Laud failed altogether to understand the new spirit which was blowing through the land. The democratic theories of the Parliament-men seemed to him to be little short of anarchism, threatening all that he held most sacred. Indeed, it may be said that he never really understood the function of Parliament at all. To his conservative mind the national assembly existed merely to advise the King and to grant the necessary subsidies. The idea that Parliament should become the legislative power of the nation was one which Laud never contemplated.

If, then, Laud's first "crime" was that he was a bishop, his second "crime" was that he was a conservative. The third was that he was a judge, the leading member of the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission. It was here that he made many of his most bitter enemies. To the seventeenth-century mind these courts were relics of a past age of tyranny and oppression. To Laud and his fellow reactionaries they appeared essential for the maintenance of authority and order. Laud himself had a passion for enforcing obedience. The law was the law and must be obeyed. Any breach of the statutes must be relentlessly punished. Neither fear nor favour should stand in the way of justice and discipline. So Laud would have argued; but it is easy to understand how hatred of the courts became largely a personal animosity against the Archbishop himself, the most prominent and the most outspoken of the bench.

We are beginning to see, therefore, why Laud was so much disliked. He was a bishop and a High Churchman, he was a royalist and a conservative, he was an active and merciless dispenser of justice. All these things made his name obnoxious and hateful to the spirit of the new age. Yet, by themselves, they would scarcely have been enough to bring him to the scaffold. There were other High Church bishops who died peacefully in their beds. There were conservatives in plenty who managed to escape the block. So even when we have brought these three "charges" against Laud we have still failed to find any satisfactory answer to the question of why it was that people disliked him so much.

So we must look a little more closely and try now to find out something about the man himself—his nature, his character, his methods in dealing with his fellow-men. Perhaps this will give us the clue which we are seeking.

We have already noticed that Laud had a great respect for authority. He had an equally strong hatred of lawlessness and disobedience. If you examine his portrait you will see that there is something of the schoolmaster and the disciplinarian in his expression. He was a man who felt that he had a right to command and a right to be obeyed without question. He had

a passion for reform, for putting other people right, for discovering small breaches of order or discipline and demanding that they should be amended and the transgressors punished. He had the misfortune to think that he had been born to set the world right. He became therefore a man with a mission, and one who made no allowance for the views or the weaknesses of other men. He had very little interest in what other people were thinking, and he consequently failed to make any friends. Under no circumstances would he suffer a fool gladly. He never shrank from doing what he believed to be his duty whatever the consequences might be, and he was quite reckless of what other men thought of him. Like Strafford his watchword was "Thorough".

We see this passionate love of reform and of discipline in his relations with the University of Oxford. He had had a long connection with the University before he became its Chancellor in 1630. He went up to St. John's College in 1589 and took his B.A. a few years later. Here he stayed for a time as a fellow of his college, and returned in 1611 as its Master. He regarded both the University and his own college with the deepest affection and showered benefactions upon them both. But he could not leave them alone. "So soon as I was admitted to the chancellorship," he writes in his Notes, "I thought it my duty to reform the University which was extremely sunk from all discipline and fallen into all licentiousness. . . . Hereupon I resolved within myself to set close to a reformation." His letters show how he applied himself to bring this about, pouncing upon every sign of disorder or lawlessness and demanding the punishment of those responsible. In 1638 there occurred a small incident of the kind that is common enough in any University. One of the proctors had made himself unpopular and was hissed and stamped by a group of noisy undergraduates. Laud heard of this and ordered the ringleaders to be sent down. But the University authorities preferred to settle the matter in their own way by the infliction of a little corporal punishment. Laud was furious. He writes to the Vice-Chancellor: "I am very sorry the heads are so ill-advised as to think the whipping of two or three boys is punishment sharp enough for such an



offence. What you will do I know not ; but if I should come to the knowledge of the principal offenders, if you did not banish them the University, I should try how far my power would stretch." This was in 1638, and in the following year there was more trouble, this time not with the students but with some of the senior dons. When public letters were being read, some of the older masters who were a little deaf were in the habit of leaving their seats and crowding round the reader. Hearing of this breach of decorum Laud was hot with indignation and turned up an ancient statute which forbade people to wander about during such functions. He wrote angrily, saying that "if any man shall thus presume to leave his seat, and so either break the order or disturb the peace of the house, I do hereby require that the Vice-Chancellor shall command him to prison and give me notice of the same". In the same year he tried to put a stop to the wearing of what was called the "lawyers' gown". Not only did he demand the punishment of the young gentlemen who had affected this style, but he also ordered the Vice-Chancellor to "chide the tailors severely" for having dared to make the wrong sort of gown and so encourage lawlessness.

Such was the way in which Laud conceived it his duty to carry out his responsibilities as Chancellor of Oxford. It was typical of all his work. It was discipline, discipline, discipline ! No one was safe for a moment. Churchmen and nonconformists, Oxford dons and Scottish lairds, tradesmen and craftsmen, no one felt safe. No allowance was made for carelessness or weakness, no attempt was made to meet people half-way, no plea of ignorance or misunderstanding was ever listened to. In 1631 a new edition of the Bible was printed containing a most unfortunate misprint. By the omission of the word "not" in verse 14 of the twentieth chapter of the Book of Exodus the public was presented with the startling command : "Thou shalt commit adultery". As every writer knows, misprints have an uncanny way of occurring even in the most carefully-read proofs. This, however, was a most unfortunate example and one which could hardly pass without comment. The unhappy printers were summoned before Laud

and others in the Court of High Commission and there ordered to call in the whole impression and to pay a very heavy fine.

Such was the policy of "Thorough" as it affected the lives of quite ordinary citizens. And this was the policy with which Laud's name was inevitably associated. It is no wonder that he had few friends. He could never meet other men on equal terms, for he was not interested in their pursuits. His whole life was devoted to one object—the reform and discipline of Church and State. Art, travel, conversation, entertainment, sport, seem to have had no interest for him at all. His predecessor and enemy, Abbot, was something of a sportsman, for, in the year 1621, when out shooting with Lord Zouch at Bramshill Park he had the misfortune to kill a keeper, an unfortunate accident to occur to the Primate and Metropolitan of All England. Laud never ran the risk of such a mishap for he never indulged in sport at all.

Nor did he indulge in female society. In all the records of his life which have been preserved there is no trace of his having had any friendship with a woman. Had he married and become the father of a family some of the roughness of his nature might have been worn away. As it was he preserved to the end of his life, a kind of "bachelor-donnishness" which showed itself in a marked uneasiness in the presence of women. When in 1640 Laud was committed to the custody of Mr. Maxwell, Usher of the Black Rod, Heylyn reports that he remained there ten weeks, "during which time he gained so much on the good opinion of the Gentle-woman of the House, that she reported him to some of her Gossips, to be one of the goodest men, and most Pious Souls, but withal one of the silliest fellows to hold talk with a Lady that ever she met with in all her life".

But if Laud was a "silly fellow" in the presence of women, he was also "one of the goodest men and most Pious Souls". Such was Mistress Maxwell's opinion of him after having had him in her house for ten weeks. History has not been as generous as that to his memory; but history is not always just in its judgments of men who have played a prominent part in public affairs. Paul Sabatier used to tell us how absurd it was to think that anyone could write history objectively, for everyone who

tries to pass sentence upon the great men of the past is hampered by a whole network of prejudices which make any sort of absolute judgment impossible. To Macaulay, with his particular set of prejudices, Laud was just a "superstitious driveller, as honest as a vile temper would suffer him to be"; to Dean Hook, child of the Oxford Movement, Laud was almost to be numbered with the saints. Or to come down to our own day, we may compare the conclusion of a typical Anglo-Catholic with that of a member of what the writer himself calls the "profane school" of historians. The former writes: "Laud completed what Elizabeth had begun and he did much more. He not only saved the English Church from the Puritans; he established her right to regard herself, not as the creation of either Parliament or King, but as part of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church." The latter concludes a long study of the life and work of Laud with the words: "Laud failed: his failure was final: and the formal relics of his policy which are preserved in churches and pointed out by the religious as proof of his ultimate success are about as authentic and as important as the more tangible relics of other saints and martyrs".

It is clear, then, that we can hardly hope for a final judgment upon Laud even in our own day. Nor is this really surprising, for he himself was so closely bound up with political and religious controversies which still agitate our minds that it is almost impossible for us to be impartial. But on an occasion such as this there is no need for us to pass judgment. We are here to commemorate the death of a man who suffered for the cause in which he believed. Whether that cause was right or wrong it is not for us to say. We are here not to judge of a policy but to pay our respects to a man.

What, then, shall we say of the man himself? What grounds have we for endorsing the opinion of Mistress Maxwell that he was "one of the goodest men and most pious souls"?

There are, I think, three great qualities in his nature which command our respect and our admiration. The first is that, beneath his rather fiery temper he had a real desire to do justice. It is true that he was easily provoked to anger and that he often said things which he afterwards regretted. Clarendon saw this



weakness in Laud's character and said that "he could not bear contradiction in debate, even in the Council where all men are equally free, with that patience and temper that was necessary, of which they who wished him not well took many advantages, and would therefore contradict him that he might be transported with some indecent passion, which upon a short recollection he was always sorry for, and would readily and heartily make acknowledgment". That he was often brusque in his manner, not even his most enthusiastic admirers could deny. But what matters more than manner is the feeling which lies behind it. And here I think we must admit that Laud had a greater sense of justice and mercy than has often been ascribed to him. Nowhere is this more clearly shown than in his speech at the trial of Prynne, Burton and Bastwick in 1637. These three men had gone out of their way to pour abuse and invective upon Laud, but in his speech he makes no attempt to pay them back in their own coin. "For my part", he said, "as I pity their rage, so I heartily pray God to forgive their malice." And he closed his address with the words: "Because the business hath some reflection upon myself I shall forbear to censure them, and leave them to God's mercy and the King's justice". All this is dignified, sober and restrained. There is no suggestion of self-pity or of moral indignation. The three men had behaved atrociously: it was Laud's business to make them see their folly and their error. And in his handling of this affair (as of others like it) we see the workings of a mind which cared very deeply for justice, both human and divine.

The second characteristic in Laud which commands our admiration is his open-handed generosity. At the end of his Diary he wrote a list of "Things which I have projected to do if God bless me in them". These include the erection of new buildings at St. John's College, Oxford; repairs to St. Paul's Cathedral; the endowment of a hospital at Reading; the setting up of a Greek press in London; the foundation of a lectureship in Arabic at Oxford; and the augmentation of the stipends of poor clergy. In addition to these we should set down his princely gifts to the Bodleian Library. By the end of his life he had given away nearly thirteen hundred manuscripts in

Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, Russian, Chinese, English, French and Swedish. He had also from time to time made gifts of various kinds to a large number of parish churches, many of which had been despoiled of their treasures in the disturbances of the previous century.

Thirdly, Laud was a man of vision and of great moral courage. In the turbulent times in which he lived, when the forces with which he was least in sympathy were daily increasing in power and influence, Laud had a clear vision of a National Church such as he believed had been the dream of the Reformers. Like the wise householder of the Gospels the Church of England was able to bring out of its treasure "both things new and old". It had its roots in the past, continuing, in its method of government, the ancient practice of Christendom, and preserving, in its liturgy the forms of worship upon which Christian souls had been nourished. Yet it was reformed. Old abuses had been cleared away ; new ideas and new liberties had been gratefully welcomed. Free alike from the intransigent discipline of Rome and from the bleak formalism of Continental Protestantism the Church of Cranmer and Latimer, of Hooker and Whitgift, of George Herbert and Nicholas Ferrar might well be said to have seen the vision of what the Christian fellowship should be.

It was for the well-being of such a Church that Laud gave himself so generously. He was no reckless fanatic. He had counted the cost of his action. But against the rising tide of Puritanism which threatened to destroy this Church, Laud knew that he must make his stand, even though it cost him his life. His methods may be open to criticism, and his manner was often unfortunate, but his vision remained always clear, and his courage (and, I think we may add, his charity) never failed. It is to those virtues that we pay our tribute to-day.

## THE PENTATEUCH PROBLEM: SOME NEW ASPECTS.<sup>1</sup>

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THIS lecture will bring before you some new aspects of the old, but still unsolved, problem of the origin of the first five books of the Old Testament, known to scholars as the Pentateuch. To enable you to understand the problems raised and the solutions offered it is necessary that I state briefly the viewpoint I hold, the reasons for which I have given in previous lectures in this place.

The Hebrews entered Palestine as an organized community possessing a nucleus of law comprising the Ten Commandments (generally known as the Decalogue) with perhaps their earliest expansion (known as the Book of the Covenant). This latter is found in the legal section immediately following the Decalogue in Exodus extending from chapter xx. 22 to xxiii. 18 or it may be to xxiii. 33. At the settling in the Holy Land they passed from being an organized community, centrally administered, to one that was decentralized and split into a number of religious communes. Several of these communes were separated from each other by territory still held by the Canaanites. To administer their dispersed territory the Israelites set up a number of sanctuaries some of which no doubt they took over from the previous inhabitants of the land. The names of the more important of these are familiar, Shechem (or Gilgal), Shiloh, Gibeon, Mizpah, Nob, Bethel, Ophrah Beersheba and others. Hebrew law and its administration now centred in the sanctuaries which were independent institutions. Each sanctuary was the centre of administration of its own region. Thither came litigants to settle their disputes, there law-breakers were dealt with, there fervid worshippers made their vows and gave their free-will offerings, there the priests exacted the dues

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 11th of April, 1945.



from the sacrificers for the upkeep of the sanctuary and for their own well-being. It was there that justice had to be administered and the law interpreted by the sanctuary court, the *bēth-dîn*, presided over by the chief priest. The pronouncements of these courts, which would tend to be individualistic in their interpretation and tentative in character, when tested and suitably modified over a number of years eventually reached the stage and status of firm law. Whilst in general the different sanctuaries would deal with analogous problems and their interpretations of the law might be expected to follow the same trend, there would inevitably be variations. This procedure, if persisted in for a sufficiently long time, would lead to wider divergences. As the years passed the need for a restoration of religious unity became urgent lest the law of Moses should be stultified by marked and irreconcilable diversity in its provisions in different localities. The dispersal of the populace in groups was likewise having a grievous effect politically. The popular clamour for unification under a king in order that common cause could be made against their enemies, led to the appearance of Saul. On the religious side the great unifier was Samuel known throughout 'all Israel' as a "prophet of the Lord". There was the inevitable clash and struggle for supreme power between the official religious authority and the new civil uprising which threatened it. Both had adherents amongst the people. To effect the necessary religious unity a summary of legislation, comprising a codification, after due investigation and review, of the law codes of the sanctuaries, was prepared under Samuel's guidance and immediate supervision—just how, where and by whom are points we will take up in this lecture. This new code was the book of Deuteronomy and was designed to be the standard law book of the centralized administration. This in its turn was to be associated with a new central sanctuary which was an essential concomitant and without which no real religious unity could be attained. This was clearly envisaged in Deuteronomy but did not materialize until the building of the Temple in the reign of Solomon. So much, then, by way of introduction and explanation. It is against this background that you must see and judge what follows.

The history of the Hebrew people is the history of its religion. Religion was the core of their being. The writings of which the Pentateuch is composed were writings originating largely in the sanctuaries, or at least used in the sanctuaries, for educational purposes, such as the training of ordinands. They formed texts for reading lessons for younger pupils, manuals for the priesthood, works of edification and reference books for all associated with the sanctuaries. No book or writing that did not serve a religious purpose could ever be adopted by a religious community such as that of the Hebrews, and become part of the canon of its Scriptures. It is thus to the priesthood and other sanctuary personnel that we must look for their authorship and to religious courts for their adoption and perpetuation. It is often claimed that in the interests of truth the writings of the Old Testament must perforce be submitted to the same critical examination and the same tests as non-religious writings. This would be perfectly reasonable if they were of the same character. But they are not of the same character. They took shape under the religious ideas and impulses which controlled their authors, who were in fact not free agents in the strict sense of the term. It is unscientific to treat their writings as if they were free agents, and judge them by criteria which are largely irrelevant.

Conservatism is one of the strongest influences in practically all religions. Religions do not change rapidly. In a religion progress, which is the watchword in so many phases of modern life, is anathema. To its devotees the past means so much more than the present. The eternal hope is that the future will still be the past, that time will stand still, and that nothing will alter. This was the attitude in an overwhelming sense of the Hebrew people. Their faces were always turned backward to the dim recesses of the past and their hallowed origins, striving to see clearly, and to hold fast to, the religious rites and traditions which linked them with their great forbears. What the traditions told them of their great past and the men who shaped it, they clung to with passionate devotion. How these great men thought and taught and acted, while standing close to God, supplied guidance for all time. What they said became law on

the lips of future generations. What they did was ensample and precedent for the ages which followed.

It is not unimportant, then, to remember that what the traditions recorded of Moses became direction and law for those who came after him, and the methods he employed and the manner in which he executed his great task as lawgiver, became the standard and model which all others must follow. He it was through whom the Law was given to man. He was legislative head and most of the religious practices which the Hebrew worshippers have followed are ascribed to him. He has ever been the grand spiritual leader of the Hebrew people on whom in all matters of religious observance all eyes are turned and to whom all thoughts are directed. To the Hebrews Moses was the intermediary between God and man. He received the Law at the very hands of God. His direct association with God was so intimate that it is recorded that his face shone from the effects of the divine presence. The special term used in the Old Testament for the manifestation of the glory of God was *kabhōdh*. To later ages the divine inspiration in man, and the divine presence in gatherings of men, was known as the *shekhinah*. According to the Talmud it was the righteous (Abraham, Isaac, etc.) who brought the *shekhinah* down to earth.<sup>1</sup> As it was present with Moses at the giving of the Law, so it must be present at every official interpretation of the Law. Thus the Babylonian Talmud<sup>2</sup> and Genesis Rabbah<sup>3</sup> testify that when three sit as judges, there is the *shekhinah* with them. The presence of three was also required for the ordination (*semikhah*) of elders.<sup>4</sup> The conception underlying ordination was the transmission to later ages of the effects of the divine presence and power communicated to Moses. We are told in Deuteronomy, "Joshua was full of the spirit of wisdom for Moses had laid his hands upon him".<sup>5</sup> So long as ordination was practised the divine spirit which animated Moses could be transmitted in unbroken chain from Moses to those who operated and interpreted the law. The same divine spirit which worked in and through Moses thus continued

<sup>1</sup> Ber. 12a.<sup>2</sup> Ber. 6a.<sup>3</sup> Section 36.<sup>4</sup> Tosaph. Sanh. I. 1.<sup>5</sup> Deut. xxxiv. 9.



to control the operation of the law. It follows, then, that if for any period of Hebrew history we can postulate a collection and collation of legislation, in other words a new codification, we should expect to find evidence of an official religious assembly under whose direction such codification was undertaken, or through whom it was accepted on behalf of the community and brought into force. Moreover, for an event of such importance, there would certainly be evidence of the divine presence in the assembly in a very marked degree. It would be something to be noted, to be talked about, to be wondered at. With it would be associated the miraculous. It is one of the main pillars of modern Old Testament criticism that the 'book of the law' discovered in the Temple by Hilkiah, the high priest in the reign of Josiah, was Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy, it is further held, was written with the definite object of counteracting the irreligious and apostate tendencies of the age in which it was composed. The general belief is that its author lived in the dark days of Manasseh or in the more hopeful days of the religiously minded Josiah. It was an unknown prophet's formulation of the law of Moses adapted to the requirements of a later age than that of the great lawgiver. If the date of authorship were fixed in the reign of Manasseh, it is suggested that it would be easy to understand how it came to be deposited in the Temple for safety or to be taken there by some priest, and, in the confusion of that troubled time, have been mislaid and lost. There has even been the suggestion that it was 'planted' in the Temple with the connivance of the high priest and after discovery foisted upon an unsuspecting king and populace as the law of the Lord. There are variations of these views but we need not enter into them here and now.

But surely there is something radically wrong in all this. There is no suggestion in the narrative in Kings or in Chronicles of any religious court being held to adopt the new legislation and bring it into operation. There is no evidence of the divine presence making itself manifest at its preparation. There is no mention of the laying up of the new 'book of the law' before the Lord, which was seemingly the practice when a new code

was promulgated.<sup>1</sup> Some unknown and obscure prophet composes a whole code of laws without difficulty, has it accepted without hesitation and without ceremony, and everybody from the king down is so delighted to adopt it that you begin to wonder under what code of laws the people were then living or, indeed, if they had any code at all. The narrative in II Kings makes it clear that the law book discovered in the Temple was one which had evidently been in operation at some past time but had been supplanted by the code under which the people were then living. If Deuteronomy, as we are here suggesting, was a law code designed for a united nation (called 'all-Israel' in Deuteronomy) and had been in operation during the reigns of David and Solomon but was rendered inoperative at the disruption of the monarchy, its re-discovery in the reign of Josiah was opportune for by then the Northern Kingdom had fallen, and 'all-Israel' could be re-united under the same code.

Now let us turn back once more to the days of Samuel. We have contended that Samuel had a law code prepared under his direction which would co-ordinate and re-formulate the variant legislations of the sanctuaries, and serve as the law book of a united nation. In I Samuel, x. 25 it is said that 'Samuel told the people the legislation (*mishpat*) of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book and laid it up before the Lord'. As I have had occasion to point out before, the procedure with new legislation was a public reading and its being written down and 'laid up before the Lord'. Here is witness to the promulgation of new legislation affecting the kingdom. But what evidence can we produce to show that there was an assembly, presided over by Samuel, for the preparation and adoption of a new law code and that having been called together for such high purpose it could be revealed that the divine presence was in their midst? Before we can answer that question satisfactorily we must turn again to consider the person and office of Moses.

Moses had the title of *nabhī* (prophet). It seems fairly

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller discussion of this topic see the writer's article, "The Priestly Code," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxvi. (1942), pp. 374 f.

clear that to the Hebrews the prophet was a man so God-inspired that he could reveal God's will to man and even be God's agent in bringing it to pass. Thus if stress is laid on the inspirational element we may expect to see in the prophet a man capable of foretelling the future, working miracles, etc. If the revelation of God's will is the element stressed, he may deal with God's word, either communicating it, having received it from God by vision or otherwise, or maintaining, preserving and interpreting it after it has been communicated. If stress is laid on the prophet as God's agent, we may find him challenging kings or high priests, and fomenting rebellions, etc. The prophet may fill one or more of these rôles but he need not necessarily fill them all. Moses was recognised as a great prophet, indeed the greatest of them all. It could be said of him "There hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face".<sup>1</sup> Moses' function as 'prophet' lay specially in his transmitting the word of God and teaching his judgments and his statutes. It was this that distinguished Moses as prophet. It would appear, also, that those who in later times had to teach and interpret the word of God were given the official title of *nabhî* (prophet). And the Law would require interpreters in each sanctuary. There is evidence enough that there was a class of officials known as the *nebhî'im*.<sup>2</sup> In lists of officials, often given in denunciations, they are linked with the priests to whom they come next in order. "The priest and the prophet have erred through strong drink: they err in vision, they stumble in judgment" says Isaiah.<sup>3</sup> Jeremiah gives the order of importance as kings, princes, priests, prophets.<sup>4</sup> In the opening words of the *Pirqe Aboth* the chain of transmission of the Law is given as follows: "Moses received the Law from Sinai and he delivered it to Joshua and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue". In the *Aboth de R. Nathan* the order of transmission is Moses, Joshua, elders, judges, prophets.

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xxxiv. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. A. R. Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel*, 1944; G. Hölscher, *Die Profeten*, 1914, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> xxviii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> ii. 26; iv. 9, etc.



According to Jewish tradition it was prophets who wrote the historical books of the Old Testament. They are still known in the division of Scriptures as "the former prophets". According to Josephus, who was concerned to establish the greater reliability of Hebrew history as compared with that of the Greeks, "from the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes (B.C. 465-25) the prophets who followed Moses narrated the events of their own time in thirteen books".<sup>1</sup> The prophets then as a class, were men who dealt with the Law and its interpretation, probably also with its preservation and transmission, and with the nation's traditions. The priests were largely concerned with the ritual, the prophets with the divine word in all its aspects. Or at any rate the men who dealt with the word of God were designated *nebhî'im*, although that generic title may not have been restricted to them. As Moses transmitted a portion at least of the spirit of God by which he exercised his great powers as a prophet, it is reasonable to suppose that the prophets who specialized in the interpretation of the Law and its application were admitted to their calling by ordination (*semikhah*). Those whom God singled out specially, like Samuel or Amos, were 'prophets of the Lord'. Only in such way could it be expected that the spirit of Moses brooded over the Law and kept it in very truth through all its elaborations and modifications the same unchanging 'law of Moses'.

Samuel had gathered together a 'band of prophets' (*hebbhel nebhî'im*). After Samuel anointed Saul he sent him on his way giving him instructions as to his itinerary. After he left the oak of Tabor he was to go to the hill of God (probably Gibeon) and there he would meet a 'band of prophets' coming down from the high place with a psaltery, and a timbrel, and a pipe, and a harp, before them: "and they shall be prophesying: and the spirit of the Lord will come mightily upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man".<sup>2</sup> In the book of Numbers (xi. 25) we are told that the Lord took of the spirit that was upon Moses and put it upon the seventy elders "and it came to pass that when the spirit

<sup>1</sup> *Contra Apionem*, i. 8.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. x. 5, 6.

rested upon them they prophesied". That the band of prophets was prophesying must be held to imply that the divine presence was active in their midst with the same spirit that was upon Moses, and when he joined them Saul, too, was strongly affected by it. Now the Targum Jonathan translates the expression *ḥebhel nebhi'im* by *si'at saphraiyā*, i.e. a procession of 'scribes' or 'teachers' of the Law, a translation which supports our view of the function of these *nebhi'im*. When David in fear of his life from Saul took refuge with Samuel at his headquarters and home, Naioth in Ramah, Saul sent messengers to take David. "And when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as head over them, the Spirit of God came upon the messengers of Saul and they also prophesied. And when it was told Saul, he sent other messengers and they also prophesied. And Saul sent messengers again the third time and they also prophesied." Finally Saul went himself only, like his messengers, to fall under the influence of the Spirit of God which was dwelling so mightily in their midst. So powerful was the effect of the divine presence that Saul stripped off his clothes and prophesied before Samuel and lay down naked all that day and all that night. The stripping off the clothes was because they were unsanctified. And then the historian adds "Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?"<sup>1</sup> Here as before the Targum renders the word 'prophets' by 'scribes' and curiously enough it renders Naioth by *bēth 'ūlfānā*, that is the place where training is given in the Law, the law school.<sup>2</sup> Now here we have an assembly of 'prophets' at the head of whom was Samuel, obviously gathered together to deal in some particular way with the Law.<sup>3</sup> It was not an ordinary everyday law school. Their presence in

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. xix. 18-24.

<sup>2</sup> The Talmud Yerushalmi calls Samuel רבן של נביאים the "teacher (master) of the prophets" (Hag. ii. 1), no doubt basing on the same tradition.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to one of my pupils, Rabbi S. Sperber, for the following note: "There is an interesting note in a strange Aggada (Yer. Hag. ii. 4b). Samuel feared lest the day of judgment has come and he called upon Moses to witness that he has not changed the Law of Moses. Tosafot (Dib. Hamat. D'leka) there remarks that Samuel who interpreted the Torah called upon Moses to testify that the interpretations were in keeping with the intentions of Moses."

Gibeon was evidently marked as a special festive occasion. In front of them went musicians as they processed down from the high place. Great things were afoot in that distinguished gathering—for it must have been a distinguished gathering to arouse such popular interest and attract so much attention. And as we see Samuel was at its head. He presided over the assembly. This brings us to the significance of the saying: "Is Saul also among the prophets?" The origin of the saying is likewise attributed to the earlier occasion when Saul, as directed by Samuel, encountered the band of prophets at Gibeon. Those who knew him asked "Is Saul also among the prophets?" when they saw or heard what had befallen him. This led to the retort, "But who is their father?" To understand this aright we recall the use of the term *'abh*, father, as the official title of the head or president of an ecclesiastical court. Thus *'abh bēth-din* is the title which has been handed down and is still used for the president, or rather presiding judge, of a Jewish lawcourt. When Joseph said that the Lord had appointed him an *'abh* to Pharaoh, it meant that he had been appointed the head of his supreme court, his chief judge.<sup>1</sup> *'Abh* as an official title is strikingly confirmed by the use of its correlate in the case of the prophetess Deborah. We are told that she judged Israel, which can only mean that for the time being she was the legislative head. She was not, however, called *'abh*, father, but *'ēm*, mother, instead. In the song of Deborah comes the proud boast, "The rulers ceased in Israel, they ceased, until that I, Deborah, arose. That I arose a mother in Israel". That *'abh* is an official title helps us to understand the significance of the saying, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" Saul in his bid for supreme power, would wish as king to be the acknowledged head of the legislature, a position filled hitherto exclusively by a religious dignitary, priest or prophet. That Saul could prophesy amongst the prophets and be affected as they were by the Divine presence, seemed to give him the necessary religious qualification for the post. The supporters

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew has *ישימי לאב לפרעה*. The *ל* before *אב* is the *ל* of office, cf. Jud. xi. 11. The Codex Severus made this more clear by omitting the *ל* before *פרעה*.



of Samuël could meet this claim with the retort, "But who is their 'abh ?" the answer being Samuel. Saul might stake a claim to be included amongst the prophets but Samuel remained their 'abh, and Saul could not displace him. As bearing out our contention it is interesting to find that Targum Jonathan renders "But who is their father ?" by "But who is their Rab (teacher) ?" It translates in the same passage "And Samuel standing as head over them" by "standing as teacher over them".<sup>1</sup>

And here, too, we may add a word about the 'sons of the prophets', the *benē han-nebhi'im*. Much has been written about them and there have been many conjectures as to who and what they were. A strong plea has been made for identifying them as a type of *darwīsh*, although just why the writers of the Old Testament should interest themselves in darwīshes is not at all obvious. In view of what we have already said *benē han-nebhi'im* is a fitting designation of the members of an assembly presided over by an 'abh, when that assembly consists of 'prophets'. It would appear that from the time of Samuel, who instituted such a gathering, an assembly of 'prophets' was kept in being to interpret authoritatively the Law and control its expansions in the Oral law. They were to all seeming the precursors of the scribes of a later date. All references to them suggest that the divine spirit was also found in their midst. When Elijah was taken up by a whirlwind to heaven, Elisha addressed him as 'my father'. It would appear that both Elijah and Elisha were like Samuel, heads of an assembly of prophets, the 'sons of the prophets'. *Benē*, too, in the sense of members of a court, seems to occur in Mishnah Ketuboth 13, 1 and 2, where *benē kōhanīm gedōlīm*, "sons of the high priests", seems to be identical with *bēth dīn shal-kōhanīm*, 'the court of the priests', in Ketuboth 1, 5, designating the Sadducean Sanhedrin in opposition to the Pharisean (see Danby's note on the latter Mishnah).<sup>2</sup> The *benē han-nebhi'im*

<sup>1</sup> קצם מלך.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to P. R. Weiss for the following note: Similarly the name בני בתירה which scholars found difficult to explain (see e.g. Weiss, *Dor*, I, 156) seems to have the meaning of "Court of Bathyra." Support for this can be

carried on the tradition of the 'band of prophets' of the age of Samuel.

There seems to me, then, good grounds for believing that the 'prophets' so closely associated with Samuel were the custodians of the law in whose assembly the law was codified under Samuel. They would be the authoritative interpreters of the law at the various sanctuaries. That tradition should associate miraculous happenings with such a gathering will not surprise us, for where the Divine presence was, such things were expected to happen. Even at less important gatherings wondrous things came to pass. Irenaeus<sup>1</sup> tells us that when the Pentateuch was translated into Greek, the seventy translators (or rather seventy-two—six from each tribe) made their translations independently, yet at the end of each day the translations were found to agree down to the minutest detail so that the nations might know that the writings were translated "under divine inspiration".<sup>2</sup> The pseudo-Letter of Aristeas describes the great joy with which the work of the seventy-two was received by the Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria. Such joy and enthusiasm could only have been there if the Alexandrians were convinced that the task was completed with the aid of the Divine presence. Probably no one but Samuel in his time could have brought together such an assembly of prophets for such a purpose. He was able to do it from the unique position he occupied as one who was recognised as a 'prophet of the Lord' throughout 'all-Israel'. When the writer of the book of Samuel records that the word of Samuel came to 'all-Israel' it must surely imply that he was regarded as the highest authority in his day in the interpretation of the Law. That he went round the country judging Israel all the days of his life, visiting regularly at certain sanctuaries we are also told. Samuel's visits proved the first great step in bringing unity to Israel and in re-unifying the Law of the Lord.

found in the following. In Bab. Pes. 66a it is recorded that as a result of a discussion with Hillel the *בני בתירה* elected the latter as their president (*nasi*). Now in Pal. Pes. 33a the same anecdote has *וקני בתירה*. The term *וקן*, as is well-known, is applied to a member of the Sanhedrin. See also the similar occurrence of *בית שמאי וקני בית שמאי* (Bab. Ber. 11a) instead of the usual *בית שמאי*.

<sup>1</sup> Adv. Haer, iii. 21. 2.

<sup>2</sup> κατ' ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

The prophets of Samuel, linked with Moses by a chain of ordination, maintained unbroken through the ages, felt that they were enabled to interpret the Law in his spirit, or rather that to them was given some of that Divine spirit in him which came from his close association with God. Whatsoever decisions they took on points of law, whatsoever interpretations they offered would be in their eyes not their own but those of Moses. When Samuel's college of prophets set out to co-ordinate the Law, they would never feel that they were producing any new thing. The law they were co-ordinating was the Law of Moses. It was the one and only law. When they had completed their task and the Book of Deuteronomy lay finished before them, it was not their law, nor was it even Samuel's. It was still the Law of Moses which, under Divine guidance and Divine control, they had brought back to unity.

That an assembly could make itself responsible for documents to be read and accepted as authoritative Scripture is not unknown in Jewish tradition. The Talmud says that Hezekiah and his college wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Canticles and Koheleth. The men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel, the Twelve, Daniel and Esther.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note in passing that the word used to denote Hezekiah's assembly is the same as that used by the Targum in rendering the 'band' of prophets<sup>2</sup> in the book of Samuel. This statement in Baba Bathra has been received by Old Testament scholars with considerable scepticism. Whether that scepticism is justified or not need not concern us here. It does, however, go to show the careful hold the Hebrews maintained over writings that had some claims for recognition as Divine writ. Even if the college of Hezekiah and the men of the Great Synagogue did not write, or have prepared for them, the writings attributed to them—and on that point there can be difference of opinion—the tradition indicates that there must have been certain criteria by which such writings were judged by a responsible assembly. One of these would certainly be that they should show proof that they were written under Divine guidance.

<sup>1</sup> Bab. Bath. 14b.

<sup>2</sup> The word is סיעה.



How Samuel's college of prophets did its work we can only surmise. We have before us the completed work in Deuteronomy. In the process of collecting, collating and sifting the legislations and traditions of the sanctuaries there would be accumulated a considerable mass of literary materials. These would be traditions regarding ancestral figures given in variant forms at different shrines. Sometimes the same tradition would be attached to more than one figure. There would be duplication, sometimes more, of narratives. When the legislation which was the main task, had been finally formulated, there would remain the unco-ordinated mass of legislation from which the new formulations had been made. The problem of what to do with this accumulation was one that had to be considered. No doubt some of the legislative enactments and elaborations of the sanctuaries were rejected in the process of sifting but there would remain a considerable corpus of legislation whose value and whose validity would be generally recognised. Such legislation could not be lightly discarded. It after all was the rock whence the new law code was hewn. The form of the book of Deuteronomy gives us a clue to the structure of the whole Pentateuch. The opening chapters are a historical retrospect exemplifying the Divine favour which the Israelites had enjoyed, and the obligations they owed to their God. This is followed by the legislation, beginning with the Decalogue. After the legislation comes a supplement containing Moses' last words of encouragement to the people, the delivery of the Deuteronomic law to the Levitical priests, the commission of Joshua by the Lord, the two great poems, the Song and the Blessing of Moses. The general arrangement of the Pentateuch follows roughly the same order. Deuteronomy begins its historical retrospect from Horeb where Israel is commanded to proceed on the last stages of its journey before entering Palestine. The Pentateuch begins with the creation of the world and unfolds the history of the Israelites from distant beginnings, leading eventually to Moses and the Law at Exodus xx. The legislative section continues on through Exodus, Leviticus, being combined with historical narrative in Numbers, and finishes at the end of Deuteronomy. There is no supplement strictly speaking to

balance the opening section. This leads us to the conclusion that the supplement furnished at the end was originally the two books, Joshua and Judges. Modern critics, as you know, carry their documentary analysis from the Pentateuch into both Joshua and Judges. While some have reservations with regard to Judges, few doubt the close association of Joshua with the books that precede. Now it has always appeared to us a problem why there should be only five books of the Law. Five is not the sacred number, which, as you know, is seven. It is thus possible that the Torah, in its final form as Torah, consisted of seven books. This in any case would bring the history sufficiently close to the time of Samuel. The legislative section of the Torah would then occupy the central position in the larger Heptateuch with a hedge both before and behind. The Jews themselves have been at a loss to understand why the Law should consist of five books and not seven, and have made an artificial division which makes them up to seven.<sup>1</sup> The Samaritans accepted the Pentateuch as scripture but rejected all the other writings. They had their own book of Joshua. Their record of the period of the Judges differs in important respects from that of the Jews. It throws an interesting light on this obscure period of Israel's history, but that subject requires separate treatment.

The basic arrangement in both Deuteronomy and the larger Pentateuch is chronological, the chronology being that of the compilers. This applies to both the non-legalistic and the legalistic portions. The Decalogue was to them their earliest corpus of law since both Deuteronomy and the larger Torah begin their legalistic portions with it. The fact that Deuteronomy is the concluding law-code of the Torah shows that it occupies its rightful position at the end of the legislative development. In fixing the order of the material, it may not have been possible to depend entirely on chronology. Very

<sup>1</sup> The number of books was increased to seven by enclosing a portion of the book of Numbers between inverted *nūns* (x. 35, 36), and regarding it as forming a separate book. R. Judah was of the view that it was enclosed because it was an important book (ספר חשוב) in itself. R. Samuel in the name of R. Jonathan explains in Proverbs ix. 1 the seven pillars of wisdom as the seven books of the Torah (Bab. Tal. Shab. 115b).

often more than one principle of arrangement is traceable in Old Testament documents. For instance in the retrospect of history which prefaces the legislation in the book of Deuteronomy it is very evident that there is dependence on the narratives of Exodus and Numbers. The story of the wanderings there given was in its turn possibly dependent on lists of place-names on caravan routes as depicted on early maps. The choice of incidents to record is dependent on another principle. Incidents are chosen which reveal the Israelites lack of faith in and apostasy from God. They are selected in order that they may serve the didactic aim of the compilers to arouse gratitude towards God who has ever shown the children of Israel abundant mercy and forbearance even under great provocation.

In the legalistic parts of the Pentateuch, apart from Deuteronomy, there are several groups of laws which reveal characteristics of their own and have some claim to be regarded as separate codes. Following the Decalogue (Ex. xx. 1-17) there is the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx. 22-xxiii. 33), the so-called Ritual Decalogue (Ex. xxxiv. 11-26), the Code of Holiness (Lev. xvii-xxvi) and other fragmentary groups. All these are embedded on some principle or principles of arrangement in the great legislative section which occupies the greater part of the middle books of the Pentateuch. These groups were no doubt the products of different sanctuaries although it may not be possible to ascribe definitely its place of origin to each such group. But some scholars think, giving good reasons for so thinking, that the Code of Holiness was the law code of the Shiloh temple.

In addition, interspersed with the legislation, are sections which from the freeness of their style and the fulness and comprehensiveness of their treatment of the subjects with which they deal seem to mark them out as having been originally monographs. Thus the chapters, Exodus xxv-xxx, are an elaborate dissertation on the Tabernacle, and chapters xxxv-xl are a sequel to it, describing the carrying out of the instructions set forth in the earlier section. The same may be said of that section of Leviticus comprising chapters i-v which seems to be a manual on the fundamental laws of sacrifice, to which was



attached another manual relating to priests, their consecration, initiation, etc., comprising chapters vi-x. Other subjects which would seem to have had separate treatment are the purification laws, leprosy and atonement, chapters xi-xvi. These in whole or part may well have existed as separate manuals for the instruction of the novitiate and the guidance of the priesthood.

Now how does this view of the origin of the Pentateuch square with the documentary theory which holds the field at the present time? That theory is that there are four main documents in the Pentateuch J, a document emanating from Judah, which prefers to use the name Yahweh for God; E, an Ephraimite document, preferring the name Elohīm; D, is Deuteronomy, P, a late priestly document, sometimes called the Priest's code, specially concerned with ceremonial institutions, showing a fondness for statistical and chronological data, and supplying the framework into which the others fit. P shows a preference for Elohīm.

There is one marked feature of the religious life of the Hebrews which may assist in answering the question we have asked, and that is their veneration for the Divine name. To use the name of God was to identify him and define him, and this the Hebrew shrank from doing. To him the Divine name was ineffable. The reluctance to utter the Divine name is shared by Christians. We prefer to use instead oblique equivalents such as the Lord, Providence, the Deity, the Almighty, etc. We need not be surprised that the Hebrews, with such a distant past, had different names for God in official use at different times. In course of time the official name in regular use, even although oblique in its reference to God, gradually acquired a sanctity of its own and there developed a corresponding reluctance to use it until it, in its turn, also became ineffable. Out of a number of possible substitutes in popular use one would particularly commend itself for official use, until for the same reason as before it had to be relinquished and a fresh substitute brought into use. That the names for God did change is made clear from Exodus vi. 3 f., where it is stated that the name for God used by the Patriarchs was *Él-shaddai* (God Almighty). *El* by itself was a generic term and it is usually found in combination with some attribute אֱלֹהֵי-יְהוָה, אֱלֹהֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֱלֹהֵי-יִצְחָק, אֱלֹהֵי-אַבְרָהָם, אֱלֹהֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֱלֹהֵי-יִצְחָק, אֱלֹהֵי-אַבְרָהָם, אֱלֹהֵי-יְהוָה.

אֱלֹהִים (the eternal God), etc. The use of אֱל with an attribute attached seems to have passed, and it would appear that the new substitute was אֱלֹהִים. It has been customary for Hebrew philologists to regard אֱלֹהִים as a *pluralis majestatis*. The attempts to associate it with polytheistic ideas, or to identify it with the *ilani rabuti* (the great gods) of the Assyrian inscriptions have failed to find any real support. In reality, however, אֱלֹהִים is an abstract noun of a form repeatedly found in Hebrew,—witness זְקֵנִים (old age), נְעָרִים (youth), etc.—and is the exact equivalent of our word, Deity. Very often we find it with the definite article הָאֱלֹהִים (the Deity)—but whether הָאֱלֹהִים preceded אֱלֹהִים as a name for God, or vice versa, we cannot be certain. It is noteworthy that אֱלֹהִים without the article is used in the opening words of Genesis for the creator God, but הָאֱלֹהִים is used in the earliest legislation such as the Book of the Covenant. Yet clearly at a later time it was in its turn supplanted for official use by יְהוָה, for by the time of Samuel the word יְהוָה was the name used. The divine name, יְהוָה, seems clearly to be borrowed from the expression אֲהִיָּה אֲהִיָּה (I am that I am) which being descriptive gives no name at all. It amounts to a quiet evasion by God of Moses' question when he asks what the Divine name is. Moses is bidden to say to the people “ ‘I am’ hath sent me”. In the same way Jacob was foiled when he asked the name of the Divine being with whom he wrestled only to be met with the retort, ‘Why askest thou after my name?’<sup>1</sup> And when Manoah asks the angel his name he receives the same reply.<sup>2</sup> Yet to make use of אֲהִיָּה was to align oneself dangerously with God. It was consequently replaced by the third person singular of the same form of the verb. ‘He is (who is he)’, or ‘He exists’. It is reasonably certain that had the Hebrews known God's name they could never have written it, much less uttered it. When the Lord is described as referring to himself as יְהוָה it is for him the name by which his worshippers called him.

It is most likely that the term יְהוָה would fairly quickly be replaced by the next official term אֲדֹנָי, since יְהוָה was linked, though indirectly, with a Divine revelation. So great did the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Judges, xiii. 18.

veneration for it actually become that in the Aramaic the form הָיָה of the verb 'to be' has given way to the homophonic הָרָא and the third person singular imperfect יִהְיֶה is written לִיְהוָה to avoid possibility of confusion in utterance with the Tetragrammaton. Only on the Day of Atonement when the High Priests laid his hands on the bullock of the sin offering and on the scape-goat, and made confession, was the holy name spoken. When he came to the words of Leviticus xvi. 30, "from all your sins shall ye be clean before the Lord", he uttered the Ineffable Name. Then the Mishnah tells us "And when the priests and the people which stood in the Temple court heard the Ineffable Name come forth from the mouth of the High Priest, they used to kneel and bow themselves and fall down on their faces and say, 'Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever'".<sup>1</sup> In a passage in a *baraita* <sup>2</sup> we are told: "In former times they used to impart the Name, which consists of twelve letters, to everybody. But when the number of indiscreet persons increased they used to impart it to the discreet priests only, and the discreet priests used to let it be swallowed up in the chant of their brother priests."

Now let us turn to the problem of the use of the Divine name in the Pentateuch. In the first chapter of Genesis אֱלֹהִים is used, hence by implication it is the name for God first used. In chapter ii of Genesis in the story of the Garden of Eden the name יְהוָה is used. It will be admitted that the word יְהוָה being a verbal form is an awkward name to introduce into a text for the first time. Hence the necessity to add Elohîm after it as explanatory. This double form which persists throughout the story is then dropped in favour of יְהוָה alone. It reappears later in forms of address as O Lord God, only rarely in the Pentateuch but oftener outside. The use of the combination in the Decalogue is interesting. Evidently the Decalogue has Elohîm originally since the superscription to the Exodus Decalogue reads 'And Elohîm spake all these words saying'. In Deuteronomy the preface uses יְהוָה alone. But in the Deuteronomic code יְהוָה is the official name, so it had to be introduced

<sup>1</sup> Yoma VI. 2 (see also Yoma III. 8, IV. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Bab. Tal. Kid. 71a.



into the Decalogue. There Elohīm is combined with the second singular masculine suffix.

As we have seen the name יהוה soon became so venerated that it became ineffable and אֲדֹנָיִם (lordship) but with the first person singular suffix אֲדֹנִי (my lordship) was substituted. The change-over from יהוה to אֲדֹנִי is marked by the appearance of combinations of אֲדֹנִי and יהוה in that order. Twice that combination appears in Deuteronomy, twice in Judges, and seven times in II Samuel. The change over from יהוה to אֲדֹנִי thus made its appearance very early. The combination אֲדֹנִי האֱלֹהִים seems to occur in late works, especially the book of Daniel, and may denote a time when there was reluctance even to write יהוה. In Masoretic times אֲדֹנִי was the recognised substitute name for Yahweh and its pointing was applied to יהוה as a *memoria technica*. In course of time again the same access of veneration overtook אֲדֹנִי and הַשֵּׁם (the Name) became the official substitute, and is so used amongst Jews to this day. The use of "The Name" for God seems to go back to Leviticus where we are told of the son of an Israelitish woman, whose father was an Egyptian, who blasphemed 'The Name' (הַשֵּׁם) and cursed. An early indication of the use of הַשֵּׁם is probably that given by the last two words in Ezekiel, where it is said, speaking of Jerusalem, "And the name of the city from that day shall be 'Yahweh-Shammah' or Adhonai-Shammah," since the word Yahweh would certainly not be used at that time. It seems an awkward, cacophonous name for a city, but if we read *Ha-shēm-shammah* it is much more euphonious. The Samaritans made use of it in its Aramaic form שְׁמָא, whence the accusation made against them of worshipping a god Ashima.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we seem to have five periods indicated in the Old Testament in which different substitute names for God were in official use. Each seems to have had its day until veneration reached such a pitch of sanctity that dread of using the name in use led to the introduction of a fresh substitute name. Thus our periods would be marked by the use of Ēl with an added

<sup>1</sup> The use of three *yodhs* (sometimes reduced to two) in Hebrew MSS. to indicate the Divine name is an abbreviation of the letter ש (itself an abbreviation of הַשֵּׁם). The three *yodhs* represent the points, or 'teeth', of the latter.

attribute. This had already become matter of tradition before the appearance of the Pentateuch documents. This was followed by Elohîm (or Hā-Elohîm), Yahweh, 'Adhōnai, and Hāsh-shem in that order.<sup>1</sup> We might denote by the letters E, J, A, S the periods in which the corresponding Divine names were in regular use, but it would be very hazardous to maintain that the documents in which the names appeared could be tied down to any set, and carefully defined, period. There must have been much overlap in all directions and only if there was sufficiently strong additional evidence could it be held that a document which made use of one or other of these Divine names was the product, and the product only, of a particular period. It may serve as an indication of the relative age of documents but no positive and exact chronological sequence can be postulated. For the Pentateuch period only E and J were in effective use.

What effect is an argument of this sort likely to have on the problem of the Pentateuch and in particular on the existing 'documentary theory?' It would have no effect on the fact that there are a number of documents in the Pentateuch. It would, however, tend to upset the view that there are four main documents with separate authors, designated by J, E, D, P. D, as we have seen, is a document framed by Samuel with the aid of an assembly of 'prophets'. Whether it can be said that there were separate documents J, E, P is already very much a matter of doubt. Literary criticism, by its own elaborations and meticulous subdivisions, has already done much to upset the whole plan. When you can subdivide your main documents into two, three, four or more 'hands' the disintegration of the theory comes perilously near. It is true that literary criticism does not depend solely on the use made of the Divine names, but it certainly marks the importance it attaches to that argument by labelling the documents according to their use of the names. The evidence we bring would provide a presupposition in favour of documents using Elohîm being older than those using Yahweh. But it would be no more than a presupposition. This in itself would not amount to a refutation of the documentary theory,

<sup>1</sup> There is the post-Biblical use of *Ham-Maqom* (The Place), but it does not come into our survey.

for critics have long wavered on the question of priority as between E and J. In the earlier days of the theory E was held to be the first in time. The modern tendency is to put J first but only by a narrow margin. Acceptance of the viewpoint here advocated would mean the elimination of a JE document since the theory calls for a fusion of JE documents under a redactor in order to explain the combination of the names Yahweh Elohîm. As we have tried to show there seems to be no more need to postulate a JE document than there is to postulate an AJ document formed by a combination of Adhonai and Yahweh.

To sum up : We have tried to show that just as the nucleus of the Pentateuch legislation is the Decalogue, so the nucleus of the Pentateuch itself is Deuteronomy. It was called into being at the time of Samuel when the necessity for both religious and political unity became a matter of extreme urgency. With the aid of an assembly of ' prophets ', who were in fact interpreters of the law,—men who were ' prophets ' by a chain of ordination from Moses, men at whose gathering the Divine presence strongly manifested itself, men drawn from the sanctuaries of the land—a summary and reformulation of the legislation in operation throughout the land was prepared to serve for ' all-Israel ' and to be administered at a place still to be chosen by God. With this new law code as nucleus there was added to it the legislation from the shrines to which the new summary bore relation, the traditions of the forbears of the tribes reaching back to the creation of the world, the whole story of the tribal fortunes before, in, and after entering the Holy Land, genealogical and ethnographic lists, ancient songs and other poems, etc. Thus a seemingly confused mass of literary matter, the choicest literary fruits of the sanctuaries with all the disabilities of many and diverse origins, with consequent duplications, inconsistencies, and even contradictions, yet most carefully arranged on a definite plan, was added to serve as a preliminary to the book of Deuteronomy either at the same time as this great law code was composed or shortly after. And thus the Pentateuch came into being to carry on down the ages the spirit of Moses, to bring comfort to the hearts of untold millions and to be " a lamp to their feet and a light to their path ".



## FORETHOUGHTS ON LATER GREEK COMEDY.<sup>1</sup>

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THE series of Greek tragedies produced by Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, are a guide of inestimable value to the changes in the spirit which informs all works of art and thought in the fifth century B.C. Although only a small proportion of their works survive, they form a series which is datable over a period of some eighty years, of works by great literary craftsmen who expressed, even when they did not create, the highest standards of religious, political, and ethical thought. Moreover, the plays can be illustrated by datable sculpture and vases created for the same patrons.

In the fourth century and later the story is more confusing. The chief cause is perhaps the specialisation of the arts. Fourth century ethical and political thought belongs to the philosophers and not to the poets or artists, and the creative ideas of a generation can no longer be summed up in pairs of names like Æschylus and Polygnotus or Sophocles and Pheidias. Instead, a number of series survive which have no such necessary cross connection with each other—dated sculptures, datable Attic and South Italian vases, the Platonic dialogues, the works of Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Epicurus, and the series of dated law court speeches.

I am concerned with the prerequisites for studying one of these series. The remains of later Greek Comedy consist of two plays by Aristophanes,<sup>2</sup> three plays by Menander,<sup>3</sup> and twenty-seven plays produced by Terence and Plautus in the Roman period. These thirty-two plays provide the frame-

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 13th of December, 1944. Revision has been impossible owing to the writer being in the Army.

<sup>2</sup> *Ecclesiazusae*, 392 B.C., and *Plutus*, 388 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> *Epitrepontes*, *Samia* and *Perikeiromene* can be reconstructed with some certainty. A reconstruction of the *Perikeiromene* in English has been published by Gilbert Murray.

work for the history of later Greek comedy, into which the mass of short Greek fragments must be fitted.<sup>1</sup> Further help is afforded by representations of Greek comedy in works of art,<sup>2</sup> by ancient writers on literary criticism and the theatre and by reflections of Greek comedy in contemporary or later works. Finally, because comedy was not produced as a private performance but at a public festival, the history of Greek Comedy must fit into the general history of Greek thought and ideals as known from other works of literature and art.

At the outset, before even a framework can be constructed, the problem of the Latin adaptations of Plautus and Terence must be faced. Should they be given the same status as originals by Aristophanes and Menander or should they be treated with as much care and circumspection as the archæologist devotes to Roman copies of Greek statues? The archæologist knows little about the multitudinous artists who made the Roman copies and he seldom has first-rate originals with which to compare those copies. For the literary historian, however, three original plays of Menander (and fragments of original plays by the other poets) survive and the Roman copyists, Plautus and Terence, are known quantities. Plautus<sup>3</sup> may elaborate the particular scene to the detriment of the play as a whole; he remodels his text to produce song and dance where there was plain dialogue before; he substitutes elaborate metaphor and mythological allusion for the plain and "ethical" language of the original. But this colouring and distortion is a recognisable quality for which allowances can be made. Terence is far more faithful to the style and feeling of his originals, and is so honest in his admissions<sup>4</sup> when he has interpolated figures or scenes from alien plays that there is little reason to suspect him of concealing

<sup>1</sup> Most conveniently consulted in Kock's edition, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*; more recent fragments in Demianczuk, *Supplementum Comicum*, and D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* (Loeb Library).

<sup>2</sup> Conveniently collected and illustrated by Margarete Bieber in *The Greek Theater*.

<sup>3</sup> The most scientific treatment of this problem is Fraenkel's *Plautinisches im Plautus*.

<sup>4</sup> *Andria* 13 (use of *Perinthia*), *Eunuch* 32 (use of *Colax*), *Adelphi*, 6f. (use of Diphilus' *Synapothneskontes*).

other such interpolations. In the main Greek parallels can be found for most of the elements in the Latin adaptations<sup>1</sup> although detailed consideration of the faithfulness of the Roman authors in minor points must be reserved for further study.

The acceptance of the Latin adaptations increases the basis of discussion by eight more plays of Menander, three plays by his older contemporary Philemon, two plays by Diphilus, an older contemporary who survived Menander, two plays by a younger contemporary, Apollodorus, and one play by an unknown poet, Demophilus. Besides these, ten plays by Plautus are preserved of which the Greek originals are unknown.<sup>2</sup> The New Comedy of Menander and his contemporaries is therefore well represented, but of the Middle Comedy, which covers the period between Aristophanes and Menander, only inadequate fragments and allusions in Aristotle and other writers survive.

A comedy consists of characters in a story, and the primary categories for comparing one comedy with another are characters and plot. As no original Greek comedy except Aristophanes survives complete, and as the distortion of Plautus affects plot more drastically than characters, character-drawing is the more profitable of the two primary categories to examine first, and the most cursory inspection reveals the difference between the thumbnailed sketches of Aristophanes, sufficient to carry the comic situations in which they are placed, and the detailed portraits of Menander, the presentation of which is the chief purpose of his plays.

The masks worn by the comic actors can be used as an aid to classifying the characters. They are described by Pollux, a writer of the Christian era, and are represented in sculpture, relief, and drawings, down to the tenth-century illustrations of

<sup>1</sup> See Legrand, *The New Greek Comedy*, particularly 387 f.

<sup>2</sup> Menander: *Andria*, *Heautontimoroumenos*, *Eunuch*, *Adelphi* of Terence; *Bacchides*, *Cistellaria*, *Poenulus*, *Stichus* of Plautus. Philemon: *Mercator*, *Mostellaria*, *Trinummus* of Plautus. Diphilus: *Rudens*, *Casina* of Plautus (to these must be added the fragmentary *Vidularia* of Plautus and the scene from the *Synapothneskontes* inserted by Terence in the *Adelphi*). Apollodorus: *Phormio*, *Hecyra* of Terence. Demophilus: *Asinaria* of Plautus. Unattributed: *Amphitruo*, *Menaechmi*, *Persa*, *Aulularia*, *Truculentus*, *Epidicus*, *Curculio*, *Miles*, *Pseudolus*, *Captivi* of Plautus.



the Ambrosian manuscript of Terence.<sup>1</sup> One class of representations has been noticeably neglected, the masks on Gnathia vases, of which Manchester possesses two good specimens in the Whitworth Art Gallery.<sup>2</sup> Gnathia vases were made in South Italy, the finest certainly in Tarentum, and the fabric lasts from the end of the fifth century to at least the early third century B.C. From the beginning these vase painters were interested in the theatre and showed themselves aware of the latest technical advances in Greek painting, including the painting of scenery. The fact that comic masks which agree with the descriptions of Pollux were being painted on South Italian vases in the time of Menander justifies us in using the descriptions of Pollux to classify the characters of later Greek comedy.

I am not concerned here to describe in detail the attribution of Pollux' masks to the characters of comedy, but shall only elaborate the character-drawing of a single type, the Hetaira or demi-mondaine, who played much the same part in Athens in the fourth century B.C. as she played in the 'nineties in Paris. Pollux' list of masks includes the *pallake*, who has ceased her trade, the Perfect hetaira with a reddish complexion and hair round her ears, the Blooming hetaira, who is the least adorned and has her head bound tightly with a band, the Golden hetaira with much gold in her hair, the Wimpled hetaira with her head wound in a coloured cloth, and Little Torch, whose hair ends in a flame-like point; two further masks were used for superannuated hetairæ—the brindled and the fat old woman.

In the first half of the fourth century the old hetaira is mercilessly caricatured—smothered in cosmetics, dressed in a yellow gown, wrinkled, fat, grey-haired, short of teeth and underselling younger competitors to obtain lovers.<sup>3</sup> The younger competitors are luxuriously apparelled, have physical charm and a

<sup>1</sup> See Robert, *Masken*, and more recently Bieber, *Masken*, in R.E. I hope to argue in detail elsewhere my attribution of masks to the characters of Greek comedy.

<sup>2</sup> Published *Manchester Memoirs*, lxxxiii, 201, with bibliography of Gnathia vases.

<sup>3</sup> Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 877 f.; *Plutus*, 975 f.; Epicrates, fr. 2-3; Philetairus, fr. 9.

soft and melting eye, but are greedy and rapacious, and in time become rich.<sup>1</sup> After the middle of the century but still in Middle Comedy the young hetaira is occasionally idealised, e.g. in a fragment of Theophilus:<sup>2</sup> "Am I not wise to fall in love with a harping girl, lovely in her loveliness, tall in her tallness, skilful in her art?" At the same time (and conversely) the greedy and treacherous brothel-keeper makes his appearance on the stage.<sup>3</sup>

Satire of the greedy hetaira and idealisation of the young hetaira continue in the New Comedy of Menander and his contemporaries. The idealised young hetaira appears in many plays and is the heroine of their rescue scenes; she wears the Blooming hetaira's mask.<sup>4</sup> Often she is contrasted with a more realistically minded hetaira, who wears the mask of the Wimpled hetaira or of Little Torch.<sup>5</sup> The long description of Philematium dressing herself in the *Mostellaria* (148 ff.) has two main themes: her loyalty to a single lover, whom she will not desert although she already possesses her freedom; secondly, although she wants to adorn herself, she is repeatedly told not to spoil her natural beauty, and is expressly contrasted with the painted, scented old hetaira; she is in fact the Blooming hetaira "who is the least adorned". Little Torch, as exemplified by Habrotonon in the *Epitrepontes* and Ampelisca in the *Rudens*, is a gayer, more independent, and more realistic young person whose ancestry can be traced back to the young hetaira of Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*.

New Comedy sometimes satirises the rich hetaira, but with much more psychological detail than Middle Comedy. Enough is known of Menander's *Thais*<sup>6</sup> to show that he followed this tradition there; Phronesium in Plautus' *Truculentus* is a fully

<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1022; Philetairus, fr. 5; Amphis, fr. 23; Aristophon, fr. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Theophilus, fr. 11; cf. Antiphanes, fr. 212; Ephysjeus, fr. 6-7; Anaxilas, fr. 21. See also Wehrli, *Motivstudien*, 40.

<sup>3</sup> Eubulus, fr. 88.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. *Bacchides*, *Cistellaria*, *Poenulus*, *Mercator*, *Mostellaria*, *Rudens*, *Asinaria*, *Miles*, *Pseudolus*.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. *Cistellaria*, *Poenulus*, *Rudens*.

<sup>6</sup> See fragments of the prologue; Propertius, V, v, 42; Martial, xiv, 187.

preserved example. She has driven the faithful youth Diniarchus to distraction (23 ff.), she cruelly deceives the soldier Stratophanes with a suppositious child for which she obtains his money (935). With equal heartlessness she accepts the uncouth rustic youth Strabax in order to fleece him (930-950). She is completely realistic in her greed (175, 209, 530, 740, 854), and Diniarchus at least is allowed to see her true character (387). She wears the mask of the Golden hetaira.

Bacchis in Apollodorus' *Hecyra* is also a rich hetaira but is presented in a much more sympathetic light. She wears the mask of the Perfect hetaira and is contrasted with the younger Wimpled hetaira Philotis. She is no longer young, as Laches cruelly says (746), but, when her lover Pamphilus deserted her for marriage, it was not jealousy that prevented her from seeing him but a delicacy of feeling, which she overcomes when she finds that she can only help Pamphilus by seeing his bride (158, 794). Her character is summed up in her own words: "While it could be, I found in him a friend, charming and kind. That it should end in his marriage was displeasing, I admit. But I think my actions never deserved such an ending. But it is reasonable that I should endure displeasure on his account who brought me so much pleasure" (837). Her words tally with Pamphilus' description of her when he sees her again: "You have your old charm, and your words and your coming, whenever you come, are always pure pleasure" (858). The sympathetic treatment of the rich hetaira is new, but its originator was not Apollodorus but Menander, who also alchemised the braggart soldier of countless comedies into the stormy but sympathetic hero of the *Perikeiromene*.<sup>1</sup>

The single example of the hetaira must suffice, and I must turn now to consider the part that the characters play in the comedy as a whole. The two plays of Aristophanes, like his earlier plays, are dominated by a single idea and the characters are only sufficiently sketched for the working out of this idea—in the *Ecclesiazusae* the effects of Platonic communism and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Thais in *Eunuch* and the picture of Chrysis in the *Andria*. The hero of the *Misoumenos* appears to have been a similar character to Polemo in the *Perikeiromene*; see Wehrli, *Motivstudien*, 110 f.



in the *Plutus* the effects of making Wealth see. In both plays the young men hardly count, and the hetairae in the *Ecclesiazusae* are caricatures introduced to make amusing episodes. Two character contrasts, however, are fruitful in later comedy, the pair of master and slave in the *Plutus*, which has ancestors in the *Peace* and the *Frogs*, and the pair of kindly old man and stern old man in both plays, which on our evidence appears now for the first time. But the characters only exist to demonstrate the dominant idea.

Seventy years later character-drawing is the end of Menander's comedy and character contrast is as essential a means to this end for him as for Sophocles a hundred years before. The contrasts are both within types and across types: youth contrasted with youth but also hetaira contrasted with wife, and slave with master. These contrasts can be seen in the fragmentary originals and amplified from the Latin adaptations. Thus in the *Epitrepontes* the hero Charisius, who wears the mask of the dark youth, is contrasted with Chaerestratus, who wears the wavy-haired mask, and with Simmias, who wears the mask of the admirable youth.<sup>1</sup> The hetaira (Little Torch) Habrotonon is contrasted with the wife Pamphile, but also with the slave Onesimus. There are four slaves in this play: Onesimus wears the leader's mask, Davus is the country slave, Syriscus is the "long-haired" town slave, and Sophrone is the old woman. Davus and Syriscus contrast with each other, Onesimus is a foil for his master and for the old man Smikrines; Sophrone is a foil for Smikrines.<sup>2</sup> The contrasted pair of kindly old man and stern old man, which appears in the fragmentary *Samia*,

<sup>1</sup> In the *Perikeiromene* the soldier Polemo is contrasted with the "wavy-haired" Moschion. In the Latin adaptations the contrasts are easier to see: e.g. *Heautontimoroumenos*: Clitipho "tender", Clinias "wavy-haired"; *Eunuch*: Phaedria "wavy-haired", Chaereas "tender", Antipho "admirable", Chremes "rustic", Thraso "soldier"; *Adelphi*: Aeschinus "admirable", Ctesipho "rustic"; *Bacchides*: Pistoclerus "tender", Mnesilochus "wavy-haired", Cleomachus "soldier".

<sup>2</sup> In the *Perikeiromene* the "wavy-haired" slave Sosias is contrasted with his more moderate master Polemo as well as with the "leader" slave Davus and the young girl Doris. The *Adelphi* and *Bacchides* preserve another slave contrast—between the old slave who is faithful to his old master (or mistress) and the young slave who is faithful to his young master (Syrus—Geta, Lydus—Chrysalus).

can be seen more clearly in the three plays adapted by Terence,<sup>1</sup> in all of which they hold the stage for a greater percentage of scenes than the young men. Similar pairs of contrasted old men play an equally large role in the two plays by Apollodorus, the *Phormio* and *Hecyra*, but neither of these plays has so many minor contrasts as the plays of Menander. The youth Pamphilus is alone in the *Hecyra*, and Antipho in the *Phormio* has a single foil in Phaedria (tender youth and wavy-haired youth are their masks). Both plays have a single pair of contrasting slaves, leader and country slave. But the end for Apollodorus and for Menander is representation of character, the means is character contrast, and the flavour is a sweet sympathy, which idealises the braggart soldier Polemo and the hetaira Bacchis.<sup>2</sup>

Three plays of Philemon survive in Plautine adaptations—*Mercator*, *Mostellaria*, and *Trinummus*. In all of them the youthful and wayward hero has a slightly older counsellor and friend; they wear the masks of the wavy-haired youth and the admirable youth.<sup>3</sup> The hetaira heroines belong to the young and "blooming" type which never plays more than a minor role in Menander and Apollodorus; the dressing scene of Philematium in the *Mostellaria* has been described above. The characters are well drawn, but the end is not presentation of character, as Philemon seeks to raise laughter rather than smiles. The *Mercator* is an unkind portrait of an old man in love, and in the *Mostellaria* the love story of Philolaches and Philematium is secondary to the outwitting of Philolaches' father, Theopropides, by his slave Tranio. The *Trinummus* is a quieter play and its real subject is the salvation of a rake's soul by his friends, the young Lysiteles and the old men, Philto, Callicles, and Charmides; it is tempting to regard this as a late play on which the influence of Menander is strong.<sup>4</sup>

Two plays of Diphilus and fragments of a third are preserved in Plautine adaptations. The *Rudens* has not suffered more than the normal Plautine remodelling, but the *Casina* has been

<sup>1</sup> *Andria*, *Heautontimoroumenos*, *Adelphi*.

<sup>2</sup> Menander, *Perikeiromene*; Apollodorus, *Hecyra*.

<sup>3</sup> Charinus and Eutychus; Philolaches and Callidamatus; Lesbonicus and Lysiteles.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Jachmann, *Plautinisches und Attisches*, 226 f.

drastically shortened as Plautus himself admits.<sup>1</sup> Like Philemon, Diphilus cares more for the story than the characters; unlike Philemon, he is more interested in the effect of the single scene than the story. The two complete plays, the fragmentary *Vidularia*, and the scene preserved by Terence<sup>2</sup> contain more unusual action, whether narrated or seen on the stage, than the comedy of Philemon and Menander. Such in the *Rudens* are the shipwreck at sea, the storm on the land, the search of the two hetairæ for each other, their supplication of the priestess, the arrival of the fishermen, the scene at the well, the struggles of the brothel-keeper, and the arrival of Gripus with his catch. These are unusual because they escape from the conventional "conversation before three houses", which is the normal scene of later Greek comedy, into a wilder world. In this sense I call Diphilus' comedy the comedy of spectacle.<sup>3</sup>

The four types of comedy which can be distinguished serve as a guide both in assigning a position to the other plays of Plautus and in mapping the uncharted territory which separates Menander from Aristophanes. I propose only to mention the other plays of Plautus in so far as they are relevant to the present study, either as helping to bridge the blank period or as increasing our knowledge of one of the three main authors of New Comedy. The later development of the Aristophanic comedy of the dominant idea can be seen in three plays: *Amphitruo*, *Menaechmi*, and *Persa*. The *Amphitruo* with its small heroic cast, who are, however, completely human in all their actions, and its few scenes is unlike any other play. The dominant idea is the indistinguishability of Amphitruo from Jupiter and Sosias from Mercury and the consequences of these confusions. In default of other evidence the *Amphitruo* should belong to the Middle Comedy. The *Menaechmi* has more scenes and

<sup>1</sup> Traces of the original which contained the recognition of Casina are clearly seen: e.g. *Casina*, 40 f., 64 f., 80 f., 1012 f. Jachmann, *op. cit.*, 113 f., successfully claims, 763 ff., for Diphilus against Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, 307 f., who regards them as purely Plautine.

<sup>2</sup> According to Terence, Plautus omitted a scene of Diphilus' *Synapothneskontes* from his Latin adaptation the *Commorientes*; this Terence interpolated as *Adelphi*, II, i.

<sup>3</sup> Jachmann well appreciates the quality of Diphilus' art, *op. cit.*, 98 f.



more characters and has lost the heroic garb of the *Amphitruo*; the "wimpled" hetaira and her pert maid, the complaining wife and her muddled father at least foreshadow the world of Menander; but the confusions of the twins matter so much more than characters and story that this play, too, is probably based on an original from Middle Comedy. The dominant idea of the *Persa* is the parasite who sells his daughter to obtain food. Here again the careful contrasting of the four slaves, the leader Toxilus, the rustic Sagaristio, the "long-haired" Paegnium, and the girl Sophoclodisca foreshadows New Comedy and particularly Diphilus, who has three carefully distinguished slave types in each of the two surviving plays; moreover, the rollicking spirit of this kitchen comedy recalls the well scene of the *Rudens* and the marriage scene of the *Casina*.

Two plays only can be described as comedies of character, the *Aulularia* and the *Truculentus*. I have already described the character of the "golden" hetaira Phronesium, who is the central figure of the *Truculentus*. Her lovers are a trio of contrasted young men, Diniarchus who wears the mask of the "tender" youth, the soldier Stratophanes, and the rustic Strabax. In addition there is a trio of contrasted slaves, the rustic Truculentus, the "long-haired" town slave Cyamus, and the girl Astaphium, who like the soldier's slave in Menander's *Periæromene* is an exaggerated copy of her owner. The play is an unsympathetic portrait of a rich hetaira; the *Aulularia* is an unsympathetic portrait of a miser. The *Aulularia* has been claimed for Menander,<sup>1</sup> and the analogies are clear between the miser Euclio and the miser Smikrines. In the *Epitrepontes*, the "dark youth" Lyconides and the dark youth Charisius of the *Epitrepontes*, and the mild old man Megaronides and the mild old man Micio of the *Adelphi*. The major difference between both these plays and the other surviving works of Menander is that both of them are unsympathetic portraits of a single character. But the fragments of the *Thais* prove that Menander

<sup>1</sup> See Jachmann, *op. cit.*, 128 f. Note that in both the *Aulularia* and the *Truculentus* an alien theme is introduced near the end: in the *Aulularia* Lyconides' slave stealing the pot of gold, in the *Truculentus* the aged Callicles torturing the slave girls. But the elaboration of the Arbitration scene in the *Epitrepontes* shows that such episodic composition is not eschewed by Menander.

wrote such plays, and it is therefore reasonable to regard the *Aulularia* and *Truculentus* as early plays of Menander in the satiric vein of Middle Comedy.

Two further plays deserve a passing mention. The *Epidicus* is a comedy of plot worthy of Philemon's hand. Like all his three surviving plays, it has a pair of young men who wear the masks of the admirable youth and the wavy-haired youth, and the slave Epidicus deceives the father Perioecides as joyously and ruthlessly as Tranio deceives Theopropides in the *Moscellaria*. The *Miles*, on the other hand, has affinities<sup>1</sup> with Diphilus: the to and fro of Philocomasium and Sceledrus in the earlier part of the play and later the rescue of Philocomasium are spectacle, and, as in the *Rudens* the spectacle recalls Euripidean tragedy, so here the rescue of Philocomasium is modelled on Euripides' *Helen*.<sup>2</sup>

The definition of the three main types of New Comedy as comedy of plot, comedy of character, and comedy of spectacle, necessitates a re-examination of the fragments dating from the period between Aristophanes and Menander with a view to discovering where these three types begin. In works of decorative art a chronological series can often be established by observing that new decorative elements appear first in a subsidiary field, later occupy the main field, and finally retire to a subsidiary field again when a newcomer has supplanted them as the main theme of the decoration. That the analogy may also hold for Greek Comedy is suggested by the history of the hetaira figure which has been traced above. The hetaira is unknown in the earlier works of Aristophanes but appears as a subsidiary caricature in the closing scenes of the *Ecclesiazusae*; it is justifiable to assume that she was the dominant figure in the many plays of Middle Comedy named after hetairæ; the idealised hetairæ of Menander and Apollodorus are no longer the chief figures of the plays in which they occur. I assumed that the realistic portrait of Phronesium in Plautus' *Truculentus*

<sup>1</sup> Note also that the relationship between Periyslectomenus and Pleusides has some analogy with the relationship between Daemones and Plesidippus in the *Rudens* and between Dinia and Nicodemus in the *Vidularia* (cf. also Page, *op. cit.*, fr. 63).

<sup>2</sup> Jachmann, *op. cit.*, 193.

places the Greek original at the beginning of the New Comedy, and I associated the *Aulularia* with it as being a similar realistic portrait of a single figure. Although the evidence is fragmentary ancestors of the *Truculentus* may be seen in such plays as Epicrates' *Antilais*, Anaxilas' *Neottis*, and Alexis' *Isostasion*.<sup>1</sup>

Other single character plays may be reckoned among the ancestors of the *Aulularia*.<sup>2</sup> Four figures which dominated many Middle Comedy plays but retire into the background of the New Comedy are the soldier, the parasite, the cook and the philosopher. Antiphanes wrote a comedy called *Tychon* or "The Soldier", in which the braggart soldier described how the king of Cyprus was fanned by doves at dinner (fr. 202); in the surviving plays of New Comedy (not excluding the *Miles*) the soldier is a minor character, except in the *Perikeiromene*, where Polemo is not satirised but idealised. Antiphanes and Alexis both wrote a *Parasite* in which, presumably, the parasite was the central figure, but in New Comedy the parasite retires to the fringe except in the *Phormio*, where again he is idealised.<sup>3</sup> The cook is a minor figure in most of the surviving plays, although in the *Pseudolus* he has a scene to himself in which to describe his art (790 ff.). A glance through the fragments of Middle Comedy shows the paramount importance of food: sometimes the meal itself is described, sometimes a slave describes what he has seen or bought at the market; but often the cook himself talks, and Anaxandrides named his *Nereus* after a famous cook.<sup>4</sup> The philosopher only leaves traces in New Comedy<sup>5</sup> but in Middle Comedy Aristophanes' Socrates has many descendants: an old man in Antiphanes' *Antæus* (fr. 33) is described as "the Academy itself", and Aristophron wrote both a *Plato* and a *Pythagorean*. The super-subtle distinctions of the philosophers, already caricatured in the *Clouds*, are

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Antiphanes, *Neottis* and *Philotis*, Eubulus' *Chrysilla*.

<sup>2</sup> Antiphanes "Self lover" might be the opposite to the "Self punisher" of Menander, and Antiphanes' "Unsaleable slave" is probably the ancestor of some of the slaves who play a minor part in New Comedy.

<sup>3</sup> Satorio in the *Persa*, the parasite who sold his daughter, belongs late in the Middle Comedy series.

<sup>4</sup> Note also *Ecclesiazusae*, 1167 f.; Alexis, *Crateuas*, fr. 110; *Persa*, 730 f.; and later *Stichus*, 683 ff.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. prologue fragment of Papyrus Didot.



responsible for another favourite element of Middle Comedy, the posing of riddles.<sup>1</sup> Little trace of this survives in New Comedy ; occasionally it inspires a slave's quip or the pomposity of a learned cook.

Considerable evidence from the first half of the fourth century survives for the single character play which looks forward to the *Aulularia* and *Truculentus*. The Middle Comedy also provides parallels and ancestry for the *Amphitruo*, the mythological play in which heroic characters appear in modern guise. A large crop of mythological plays appeared at the end of the fifth century and they had their greatest popularity in the first forty years of the fourth century ; Alexis already has many fewer titles than Antiphanes. Antiphanes' *Cyclops* (fr. 33) describes the banquet that he is preparing for Galatea in the same language and metre as the *pnigos* at the end of the *Ecclesiazusae*.<sup>2</sup> In Eubulus' *Antiope* Zethus has settled in Thebes because they sell better loaves there, and a Boeotian describes the Boeotian character in the Boeotian dialect.<sup>3</sup> The *Amphitruo* is a further development along the same lines : the heroic characters are completely human in their reactions and the heroic story is merely a convenient excuse for the confusions which are the main theme of the comedy. The influence of tragedy on comedy is a subject which deserves a monograph in itself ; three main stages can be distinguished—in the Old Comedy parody of individual tragic lines or at most whole speeches, and occasional introduction of figures from the mythological world of tragedy,<sup>4</sup> in the Middle Comedy parody of tragic stories with the characters thinking and behaving like " those worse than ourselves ", and in the New Comedy inspiration by tragedy. Menander's technique of character contrast recalls Sophocles ; Diphilus was influenced by the *Ion* and the *Iphigenia in Tauris* for his

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes this seems to have been the dominant idea of the play as in Eubulus' *Sphinx-Carion* and Antiphanes' *Sappho*.

<sup>2</sup> 1167 ff., cf. also Antiphanes' *Oenomaus* in which Pelops is characterised as a fourth-century Lydian (fr. 172).

<sup>3</sup> In the same poet's *Procris* the heroic hunting dog becomes a lapdog which is wrapped in rugs and rubbed with ointment (fr. 90).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Dicaeopolis parody of Euripides' *Telephus* in the *Acharnians* and the figure of Dionysus in the *Frogs*.

settings in the *Rudens*. The rescue stories which end with a recognition have ancestors in many late Euripidean plays, and Euripides seemed to Aristotle, writing before the New Comedy began, to be the most effective of the tragic authors on the stage.

The beginnings of the new tragi-comedy of Menander and his contemporaries, which differs from the single character play already described because the portraiture is sympathetic instead of being satirical can already be seen in Middle Comedy: young men suffer the tortures of love,<sup>1</sup> a son upbraids his father,<sup>2</sup> a slave tells his young master (who has presumably threatened suicide) that no one ever died when he wanted to die.<sup>3</sup> Three groups of fragments show a little more than the single scene. In Antiphanes' *Hydria* the only surviving fragment (212) reads: "The man of whom I speak saw a hetaira living in his neighbour's house and fell in love with her, an Athenian with no guardian or relations, but had a golden virtuous heart, a true hetaira—the rest spoil that good name by bad behaviour". The hero of this play was a young man in love with a hetaira of the same breed as Palaestra in the *Rudens*; <sup>4</sup> we can guess further that she has to be rescued either from a brothel-keeper or from an unwelcome lover and that the hydria which gives the play its name contains gold to help the solution. Here in fact is the beginning of the type of comedy associated particularly with Philemon. Two fragments of Theophilus' *Kouris* points rather to the world of the *Bacchides*: a father or an old slave says of the hero (fr. 11), "May he never fall into the hands of Lais or Makonis or Sisymbriion or Barathron or Thallousa or any of those in whom the procuresses entangle the young, or Nannarion or Malthake!", but the young man has fallen in love not with one of these famous hetairæ but (fr. 12) "with a harpist, lovely in her loveliness, tall in her tallness, skilful in her art". The fragments of Alexis' *Kouris* (fr. 108) point forward to the *Adelphi*: "My son behaves exactly as you saw, an Oenopion, a Maron, a Kapelos, a Timocles—he drinks no less than they. The other son, what am I to call him? a clod, a plough, a child of

<sup>1</sup> Alexis, fr. 234, 245; Timocles, fr. 23; Eubulus, fr. 41/42; Amphis, fr. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Antiphanes, fr. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Antiphanes, fr. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Wehrli, *Motivstudien*, 41, cf. *Heautontimoroumenos*, 275; *Phormio*, 104; *Andria*, 71.

the soil". Presumably the country boy appeared as well as the rake and the disapproving father. Which was in love with the "tiring woman" who gives her name to the play, we cannot tell. A poor parasite was also a character and the chorus as in the *Epitrepontes* was composed of the drunken guests of the rake (fr. 107): "I see a rout of men coming. There must be a party of bright young things here. I hope I don't meet you alone at night when you are at the height of your revels. I shouldn't escape with my coat unless I grew wings."

The fragments though numerous are disconnected, but the general correctness of the picture can be seen from scanty remarks made by Aristotle. In one place he clearly has in mind the plot of a mythological comedy: <sup>1</sup> "For in comedy those who have been the worst foes like Orestes and Aegisthus retire as friends at the end, and nobody is killed by anybody". His insistence that the subjects of comedy are "worse than present-day men" <sup>2</sup> agrees with what we have said about caricature and satire, but when he qualifies this later by calling them "rather trivial people but not really vicious . . . errors and uglinesses that do not bring about major pains or destructions", <sup>3</sup> he is already thinking of the newer character comedy rather than of the older satirical comedy, just as in the *Ethics* <sup>4</sup> when he contrasts the "allusion" of contemporary comedy with the "abuse" of earlier comedy. That the comedy of plot has already appeared in his day is implied by the statement that comic poets construct their plots of probable incidents. <sup>5</sup>

It is usually assumed that the *Poetics* was composed soon after Aristotle started teaching in the Lyceum in 334 B.C. At this date, then, according to this testimony, since his theory of comedy like his theory of tragedy is undoubtedly based on existing plays, the mythological comedy and the comedy of satire—and "worse than present-day men" implies knockabout as well as satire—were well established and the comedy of plot and the comedy of character had already begun. This agrees with such play dates as are known: for instance, Antiphanes' *Neottis*, which may reasonably be supposed to have been a satirical picture of a hetaira, and Alexis' *Adelphi*, which, like

<sup>1</sup> *Poetics*, 1453a, 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1448a, 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1449a, 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Ethics*, 1128a, 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Poetics*, 1451b, 12.



Menander's play of the same name, presumably portrayed two dissimilar brothers, both belong to the preceding decade, 350-340. Philemon, the poet of plot, produced his *Lithoglyphos* in 341.

The same decade, in which Aristotle wrote the *Poetics*, 340-330, also saw the defeat of Athens at Chaeroneia and Lycurgus' attempt to restore morale after the disaster. Part of this attempt consisted in a revival of fifth-century tragedy outwardly symbolised by the erection of statues of the three great tragedians in the theatre of Dionysus and the establishment of their texts. The influence of fifth-century tragedy on New Comedy must be ascribed both to Lycurgus and to Aristotle, to Lycurgus because he established fifth-century tragedy as classical tragedy, and to Aristotle because he founded his theory of drama on the plays of Sophocles and Euripides. Partly because of Aristotle and partly because of Lycurgus the three poets who created New Comedy to satisfy the needs of the Athenians after Chaeroneia went to fifth-century tragedy for their inspiration, Menander for the technique of contrasted characters, Philemon for the well-knit plot, and Diphilus for romantic atmosphere.

The decade in which Chaeroneia falls is as decisive for Greek Comedy as the decade of the Persian wars for Greek Tragedy. Although the beginning of the new can be seen growing under the cloak of the old, the certain progress of the new dates from the crucial decade. Much of the earlier fourth century is in the straight line of development from the fifth century. The political and ethical thought of Plato and Isocrates grow naturally out of the thought of Sophocles, Euripides, Protagoras, and Thucydides. The Eirene, which Cephisodotus carved in 373, is the last of a line of draped female figures which can be traced back through Pheidias to the Argive sculptors of the Persian Wars. So too there is no essential break between the Old Comedy and the *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus*, and the tradition of Old Comedy survives in the parodies of tragedy, the caricatured philosophers, the loquacious cooks, and the riddling slaves of Middle Comedy. The new thing, which makes Menander's Comedy both possible and necessary, is a new assertion of the value of the individual, not as in the early fifth

century as a citizen of an imperial state but as a private individual in a world state. Aristotle laid the foundations in the *Ethics* by propounding the theory of the Mean and the value of the speculative life : on the foundations the two philosophies of the later Greek world, which are primarily designed to guide the individual's life, Epicureanism and Stoicism are built : Epicurus came to Athens in 323 B.C. and Zeno in 314 B.C. ; between these two dates fall the earliest plays of Menander and the *floruit* of Diphilus and Philemon.

But the parallel with the beginning of Greek Tragedy may be pursued a little further. The assertion of the value and responsibility of the individual, which for us is first documented by Simonides' skolon to Scopas,<sup>1</sup> in 510 B.C., broke down the archaic conventions of manners and deportment, so that the smiling and conventionally composed archaic statue gradually develops into the solemn and freely composed classical statue and the oratorio of early Æschylus gradually changes into the character drama of Sophocles. A similar liberation of emotion and revolution in composition can be observed during the fourth century B.C. In the plastic arts, as in the fifth century, the stress on composition comes from the Peloponnese, from the Sicyonian painters in Plato's time and from Lysippus of Sicyon in Aristotle's time ; the liberation of emotion belongs rather to Athenians and Ionians (again as before) and the milestones are the pensive Hermes of Praxiteles (younger brother of Cephisodotus whose Eirene is still in the fifth-century tradition), the Mausoleum sculptures in the middle of the century, the Tegea heads in the 340's, and in the last third of the century the gentle Tanagra figures, which best illustrate the heroes and heroines of Menander. Enough remains of the poets of Middle Comedy to show that here, too, the new art was gradually growing and that the comedy of plot and the comedy of character have their roots in the second third of the fourth century. The change can be summed up in a word ; the citizen of the imperial state has given place to the individual in a world state, and New Comedy expresses the spirit of this new world as surely as Classical Tragedy expressed the spirit of Periclean Athens.

<sup>1</sup> See also my *Greek Interpretations*, 42.

## ARABIC TRANSMISSION OF GREEK THOUGHT TO MEDIEVAL EUROPE.<sup>1</sup>

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THE subject of this paper has a history of very long standing, from the days of Adelard of Bath down to our own time.<sup>2</sup> New discoveries in oriental libraries have, however, added very considerably to the available evidence.

The study of Islamic philosophy and science deserves to be considered as an important item in the history of European civilisation, which is based on Hebraic and Greek elements alike. In the age of Dante people were fully aware of this particular importance of the Muhammadans for their own cultural life.<sup>3</sup> Muhammadan religion is refuted by the medieval world: hence its leaders are condemned as heretics and are therefore confined in Dante's poem to the ninth *bolgia* in the eighth circle of Hell, the dwelling place of the "seminator di scandalo e di scisma", the propagators of discord. "See now how I rend myself", Mohammed complains, "see how mutilated is Mahomet. In front of me Ali goes on his way lamenting, with his visage cleft from the chin to the forelock, and all the rest whom thou beholdest here were in their lifetime sowers of dissension and schism and for this cause they are thus rent."<sup>4</sup> The two Arab thinkers, on the other hand, who are mentioned by Dante: Avicenna and Averroes, are not in Hell, they reside in Limbo, among the distinguished heathens who committed no sin but cannot be admitted to Paradise because they did not receive baptism. Men of high excellence are in this negative state in Limbo. "After I had raised mine eyes somewhat higher, I saw the master of those who know, sitting in the midst

<sup>1</sup> Paper read to the Oxford Medieval Society, 8th February, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. recently, D. A. CALLUS, O.P., Introduction of Aristotelean Learning to Oxford, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XXIX.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L. OLSCHKI, Dante e l'Oriente, *Giornale Dantesco* 39 [N.S. 9], 1938, pp. 65 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Inferno, xxviii. 30.



of a philosophic company (i.e. Aristotle). All look towards him, all do him honour. There saw I Socrates and Plato, who stand nearest to him in front of the rest.”<sup>1</sup> Democritus is mentioned “who put the world to chance”, Diogenes, Anaxagoras and Thales, Empedocles, Heraclitus and Zeno—they are all nothing but names and labels of certain doctrines in Dante’s age. Dioscorides’ work on medical plants was known, however, and so were the works of Euclid, the geometrician, and Ptolemy, Hippocrates, Avicenna and Galen; Averroes, also, who composed the grand commentary (i.e. on Aristotle): . . . e vidi . . .

Euclide geometra e Tolomeo  
Ipocrate, Avicenna e Galieno  
Averois, che'l gran comento feo.<sup>2</sup>

Avicenna is evidently quoted here as doctor and author of the famous medical encyclopedia, the *Canon*, which was studied in a Latin translation made by the famous translator Gerard of Cremona during the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> Most of Averroes’ commentaries on the different treatises of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* were known in Latin translations about 1250.<sup>4</sup> I do not need to emphasise that scientific and philosophical works of ancient Greek authors mentioned by Dante were often made known to Latin readers through translations based on the Arabic text and not on the original Greek work.<sup>5</sup> It might, however, not be out of the way to remember that the twelfth and thirteenth

<sup>1</sup> *Inferno*, iv. 130.

<sup>2</sup> *Inferno*, iv. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. G. SARTON, *Introduction to the History of Science*, II, 1 (Baltimore, 1931), p. 343, no. 76. M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen* (Wien, 1904), p. 21. Dante must also have known Avicenna very well as a philosopher, as he is often quoted by Thomas Aquinas, cf., e.g., E. GILSON, *The Philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, Cambridge, 1924, *passim*, and *Les sources gréco-arabes de l'Augustinisme avicennais* in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* IV [1929], p. 5 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Dante, who does not aim at giving a complete account of all the wise men he saw, might have mentioned al-Rāzī (Rhazes) as well, whose huge medical work al-Ḥāwī (Continens) was translated by a Jewish translator of Girgenti, Farāj ibn Sālim, in 1279. Cf. Sarton, *op. cit.*, II, 2 (1931), pp. 833 f.

<sup>5</sup> M. DE WULFF, *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale* (Louvain, 1934-6), I, pp. 64-80, 313; II, pp. 25-58. Aristoteles Latinus (codices descripsit G. Lacombe), *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi* (Roma, 1939). C. H. HASKINS, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*. But it is obvious that the direct translations from the Greek soon became more important.

centuries were not yet interested in the revival of Greek poetry as later centuries were, and that all that the Arabs had taken over from the Greek civilisation of the later Roman Empire was philosophy, medicine, science, and mathematics: neither Greek poetry nor artistic prose was ever translated into Classical Arabic. When the Western mind became interested in Greek poetry as well, it could only turn to the late representatives of the Byzantine Empire for help. But within these limits Arabic civilisation, and particularly philosophy and medicine and science, were of great importance for Western medieval civilisation. The trilingual inscription of 1142 in King Roger II's Palatine Chapel in Palermo, i.e. an inscription in Latin, Greek and Arabic (concerning a clock), is entirely characteristic of this state of affairs. A little later the Emperor Frederick II, who was buried in the cathedral of Palermo, is well known as an admirer of Arabic learning. Dante associates a Muslim philosopher and a Muslim physician with those great pagan Greek philosophers whom he knows. How did it then happen that the legacy of Greek philosophy and science—which had already once been partially naturalised in ancient Rome—came back to the Latin world of the Middle Ages in this round-about way, in Arabic disguise? And how did it happen that Muhammadans took so keenly to the philosophic and scientific legacy of ancient Greece, and preserved and developed this legacy, while it was declining in the Byzantine Empire, and not much cared for in the Western Latin World?

## 1.

We shall be equally surprised if we transfer ourselves from A.D. 1300 and Dante's age back to the beginning of the Middle Ages, when Italy was being overrun by barbarians from the north, and part of the Greek, eastern half of the Empire, namely Egypt, Palestine, Syria and part of Mesopotamia was being conquered by the advancing Arabs. Let us remember that the final conquest of Italy considerably preceded the rise of the Muhammadan Empire, whether we take the fall of Romulus Augustulus or the Lombard invasion as the decisive event, and with this in mind compare the attitude to the legacy of Greece

of two men who both, though in different quarters, stand on the threshold of a new age. I mean Cassiodorus Senator, who after A.D. 540 set himself to compile for the monks of his foundation at Vivarium an Introduction to their studies, the second book of which contains a compendium of secular knowledge which he thought to be indispensable<sup>1</sup>—and the great Nestorian Syriac translator of Greek texts into Arabic and Syriac, Hunain ibn Ishaq, who lived three hundred years later in the capital of the Abassid caliphs, Baghdad, and was the chief among a veritable school of translators.<sup>2</sup> Cassiodorus recommends to those of his monks who do not know any Greek to study the pharmacological work of Dioscorides, mentioned also by Dante in the passage quoted above.<sup>3</sup> He goes on: "Post haec legite Hippocratem atque Galienum Latina lingua conversos, id est Tharapeutica Galieni ad philosophum Glauconem destinata, et anonymum quendam, qui ex diversis auctoribus probatur esse collectus".<sup>4</sup> Hunain and his pupils certainly translated more than 100 medical and philosophical works of Galen into Arabic, and our list is probably not even complete. We get a similar result, if we compare Cassiodorus' list of philosophical books with those translated into Arabic in Hunain's age. Practically the whole Corpus Aristotelicum, with the exception of the Politics, some minor scientific essays, the Eudemian Ethics and

<sup>1</sup> *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937), pp. 87 ff.

<sup>2</sup> HUNAIN IBN ISHĀQ, Über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen, Text and German translation by G. Bergsträsser (Leipzig, 1925). G. BERGSTRÄSSER, Neue Materialien zu Hunain ibn Ishāq's Galen-Bibliographie (Leipzig, 1932). M. MEYERHOF, New Light on Hunain ibn Ishāq, *Isis* 8 (1926), pp. 685 ff., and e.g. *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 316 ff., 346 ff. The result of this comparison would not be very different in principle, if we compared a Syriac translator almost contemporary with Cassiodorus, the Monophysite Sergius (died A.D. 536), who like most of the Easterners of his age had no more contact with the Latin world, but was educated at the important Greek centre of Alexandria, cf. SARTON, *op. cit.*, I (Baltimore, 1927), pp. 423 ff. But it is perhaps more appropriate to refer to Hunain ibn Ishaq, since he is nearer to the real beginning of Muhammadan philosophy and medicine. Besides, our information concerning Sergius is mainly dependent on Hunain's auto-bibliographical essay, which he wrote in imitation of Galen's similar account of his own literary production (*Περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων*). Cf. also F. ROSENTHAL, Die arabische Autobiographie, *Studia Arabica* I (Roma 1937) p. 5 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. I, 31, pp. 78, 25 ff. Mynors.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79, 2 ff. Mynors.



the Magna Moralia, were known to the Muhammadan world not only through summaries but in their original text; the more important Greek commentators on Aristotle were known as well.<sup>1</sup> Cassiodorus on the contrary mentions only a few logical writings, viz., Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Aristotle's *Categories* and *De interpretatione* and some other manuals of logic.<sup>2</sup> Boethius had intended to render into Latin the whole of Aristotle and the whole of Plato, but the fate which overtook him prevented him from carrying out his great project.<sup>3</sup> Aristotle remained thus practically unknown to the early Middle Ages. Part of Plato's *Timaeus*, namely the fragment translated by Cicero, and the section commented upon by Chalcidius, was transmitted to the Western world.<sup>4</sup> The Arabs on the other hand had access to complete translations not only of the *Timaeus* but of the *Republic* and the *Laws* as well,<sup>5</sup> and moreover were acquainted with Platonic summaries by Galen and other authors which, though lost in their Greek original text, can still be recovered from Arabic manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> It would be easy to accumulate

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen* (Leipzig, 1897), *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft V and XII* and *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellschaft* 50 (1896) 371 ff. M. GUIDI-R. WALZER, *Studi su al-Kindi I, Uno scritto introduttivo allo studio di Aristotele, Memorie dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe delle Scienze Morali Storiche e Filologiche, Nuova serie, Vol. IV, fasc. 5* (Roma, 1940), p. 383, n. 2; p. 384, n. 1 and 2; p. 385 nn. 2 and 3.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. II, 3, pp. 112, 7 ff. Mynors.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BOETHIUS, *Comm. περὶ ἐρμηνείας*, 2, 3 (2 p. 79, 16 Meiser): ego omne Aristotelis opus quodcunque in manus venerit, in Romanum stilum vertens eorum omnia commenta Latina oratione perscribam, ut si quid ex logicae artis subtilitate, ex moralis gravitate peritiae, ex naturalis acumine veritatis ab Aristotele conscriptum sit, id omne ordinatum transferam atque etiam quodam lumine commentationis inlustrem omnesque Platonis dialogos vertendo vel etiam commentando in Latinam redigam formam.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. R. KLIBANSKY, *The continuity of the Platonic tradition during the Middle Ages* (London, 1939), p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g., A. MÜLLER, *Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Überlieferung* (Sonderdruck aus *Festschrift Bernhardt, Halle, 1873*); STEINSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. e.g., Galen's paraphrase of the *Timaeus*, *Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi, Plato Arabus I* (London, 1945); al-Farabi's *Summary of the Laws* and Averroes' *Summary of the Republic* (to be published in the same series); the Plato quotations in Al-Biruni's *India* (English translation by E. Sachau, London, 1888). F. ROSENTHAL, *On the Knowledge of Plato's philosophy in the Islamic world, Islamic Culture* 14 (1940), pp. 387 ff.

further evidence and to show more completely the remarkable difference between the Arabic and the Latin medieval world in the knowledge of Greek philosophy and science.<sup>1</sup> It is tempting to inquire into the reasons for this difference, and although I do not claim to give any final answer whatsoever I venture to propose it as one of the items of this paper. It is obvious that any such answer can only be tentative.<sup>2</sup>

Philosophy and scientific medicine, mathematics, natural science, etc., are creations of the Greek genius. There is, roughly speaking, since the fourth century B.C., an unbroken continuity of philosophical and medical teaching in the Mediterranean world, in Greece itself and in the hellenised cities of the Near East, from Asia Minor to Syria and Egypt and beyond. This continuity of Greek education was not interrupted by the absorption of all the countries concerned into the Roman Empire. On the contrary, Greek literature, philosophy and science invaded Rome itself, and Roman "humanitas" was the result of this contact with Greek civilisation. Educated Romans eventually knew Greek as well as their native tongue, and men like Cicero, Lucretius, Celsus, Seneca composed philosophical and scientific works in Latin. But this close contact with the Greek world no longer existed in the age of Cassiodorus. Since the second century A.D. the Latin speaking people within the Roman Empire had gradually given up intercourse with the Greek world, and Roman philosophy had abandoned the positions gained by Cicero and Seneca, and more or less ceased to exist. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius still wrote his philosophical work

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., the chapters in the *Legacy of Islam* on Philosophy and Religion (by A. Guillaume), on Science and Medicine (by M. Meyerhof), and on Astronomy and Mathematics (by Baron Carra de Vaux). Cf. recently P. KRAUS, Jābir ibn Hayyān, Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam, Vol. II: Jābir et la science grecque, *Mémoires présentés à l'institut d'Égypte* 45 (Le Caire, 1942). M. MEYERHOF, *Isis* 35 (1944), p. 213 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I am not at all unaware of the fact that to a certain degree I simplify a very complex historical process. Whereas we note in the West a slow penetration as a result of continuous contact with Byzantium and a gradual addition to the knowledge of ancient thought, the contact of the Muhammadan world with ancient tradition is limited to one particular period. It is also obvious that the West eventually achieved a better understanding of the essential features of Greek thought than the East ever did. But my concern in this paper is to show the particular merits of the Muhammadan attitude to the legacy of Greece.

in Greek, and Rome was still full of eminent Greek authors during his reign. He died in 180; about two hundred years later, the most eminent philosopher and theologian of the age, Augustine, prefers to read Greek philosophy in Latin translation. On the other hand no continuous tradition of philosophical teaching grew up in the Latin world which might be compared to that in the Greek half of the Empire. Latin philosophy was always an individual achievement. It thus could happen that the premature death of one man, Boethius, prevented the following centuries from knowing Plato and Aristotle in Latin translation. There was no comparable scarcity of scholars in the Eastern provinces which were overrun by the Arabs. The Platonic Academy itself, it is true, had been closed forcibly by Justinian in 529, the professors still being pagans. But philosophical and medical teaching was still alive in Alexandria when it was conquered by the Arabs in 639; the same applies, in due proportion, to minor centres in Palestine, Syria and Western Mesopotamia.

The invading Teutonic tribes interrupted the continuity of Roman administration in Italy and elsewhere. We know now, on the other hand, how the Roman system of administration survived the Arab conquest of Egypt, e.g., for a considerable time and disappeared only gradually.<sup>1</sup> In a similar way the Greek language did not die out suddenly in the provinces now definitely under Muhammadan rule, but appears to have survived for a very considerable time, certainly until the middle of the ninth century. St. John of Damascus, e.g., the great orthodox Greek theologian, passed part of his life at the Umayyad court (he died about A.D. 750), and it is not improbable that he influenced Muhammadan theology in *statu nascendi*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., H. I. BELL, *The administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Khalifs*, *Byz. Zeitschr.* 28 (1928), p. 278 ff. H. GROHMANN, *Zum Steuerwesen im arabischen Ägypten*, *Actes du V ième Congrès International de Papyrologie* (Bruxelles, 1938), pp. 122 ff., and recently L. MASSIGNON, *La politique Islamo-chrétienne des scribes nestoriens de Deir Qunna à la cour de Bagdad au IX ième siècle de notre ère*, ' *Vivre et penser* ', *Recherches d'Exegèse et d'Histoire* 2 (1942), pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., A. J. WENSINCK, *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development* (Cambridge, 1932), *passim*.



The translator Hunain ibn Ishaq had evidently no difficulty in obtaining his outstanding knowledge of Greek prose style in the first half of the ninth century, and in bringing together a quite remarkable collection of Greek MSS. from Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia.<sup>1</sup> He seems also to have been in contact with Byzantine Greek civilisation; the greatest Greek scholar of the ninth century, the patriarch Photius, came to Baghdad as an ambassador. Hunain is well versed in the methods of philological criticism which Greek scholars of his age practised, and certainly deserves to be mentioned in a new edition of SANDYS, *History of Classical Scholarship*. Greek influence in Baghdad was thus not confined in the ninth century to variety shows and dancing girls, as we might infer from Beckford's *Vathek*. But in the tenth century the Arabic translators no longer know any Greek at all, but translate exclusively from Syriac translations.<sup>2</sup> None of the outstanding philosophers, however—Al-Kindi (died A.D. 873), al-Razi (died ca. A.D. 920), al-Farabi (died ca. A.D. 950), Avicenna (died A.D. 1037), Averroes (died A.D. 1198)—understood any Greek.<sup>3</sup> They had thus to rely wholly on the achievements of the translators, and it is perhaps not superfluous to emphasise that, on the whole, these translations are excellent and betray a very high degree of knowledge and of philosophical and scientific understanding. In general, also, the translations of those Greek works which are not lost in their original text are important for the classical scholar, being often the earliest available evidence of their text.<sup>4</sup>

The Arab tribes not only showed a remarkable tolerance towards the inhabitants of the conquered provinces of the Roman Empire but also an eager willingness to take what the

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., Über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen (above, p. 163, n. 2), no. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, The discussion between Abu Bishr Matta and Abu Sa'id al Sirafi on the merits of Logic and Grammar, *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1905, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Our evidence is not absolutely sufficient in the case of al-Kindi but it is very probable that he also had no Greek.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., e.g., W. D. ROSS, Aristotle's Physics (Oxford, 1936), p. 114. R. WALZER, Galen's Schrift "Über die Siebenmonatskinder", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 15 (1935), pp. 325 ff., 329, n. i.

other had to give, while the Germanic conquerors of Italy who lost their native language and accepted the religion of the conquered, interrupted or rather disrupted the continuity of ancient civilisation in the West. The Arab conquerors brought with them an already highly developed language, a new religion of their own and their own holy book. They could afford to learn from the conquered people without risking their religious and linguistic individuality, provided that those branches of Greek literature which interested them were translated into their own language. The tolerance of the Muhammadan rulers is very impressive indeed. Jews and Christians were allowed by the conquerors to retain their faith and to continue the practice of their religious observances—we might remember the fact that Moses and Jesus are recognised as prophets by Muhammad. "As late as the beginning of the tenth century, in the city of Baghdad, the capital of the Muslim Empire, there was a Christian population of between forty and fifty thousand persons, and monasteries were to be found in almost every quarter of the city."<sup>1</sup>

Yet these Christians, heretics as most of them were, belonging either to the Jacobite or to the Nestorian Church, did not speak Greek but mostly Syriac. This fact helps us to understand the survival of Greek philosophy and science in the Muslim world in yet a different way. Firstly, there are often intermediate Syriac versions, and a certain number of Arabic versions are made from the Syriac only, without renewed comparison with the Greek.<sup>2</sup> This Syriac precedent certainly facilitated matters for the Arabic translators. Secondly we have to ask, how this great interest of the Syriac Church in secular Greek literature can be explained. If we can find a satisfactory answer in the history of the Greek Church, on which the Syrians depend, the difference between Hunain and Cassiodorus will appear less and less surprising. The main facts are these: Origen's and Eusebius' philosophical interpretation of Christianity did not

<sup>1</sup> A. MEZ, *Die Renaissance des Islam* (Heidelberg, 1922), pp. 34 f., 40. T. W. ARNOLD, *The Old and New Testament in Muslim Religious Art* (London, 1932), pp. 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For example the tenth-century translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, twice published recently. Cf. A. ROSTAGNI in *Gnomon* 11 (1935), pp. 225 ff.

prevail in the age dominated by Athanasius; hence secular teaching, i.e. the teaching of philosophy and medicine, remained in the hands of pagan teachers, and the final absorption of Greek tradition into the New Life of Christianity was delayed.<sup>1</sup> The well-known "Oratio ad pueros" of St. Basil (330-379), the famous platonising theologian, is mainly concerned with the moral value of pagan literature; he does not ask for rigorous philosophical or scientific training of the Christians in Christian schools. He and his friend Gregory Nazianzen frequented pagan universities.<sup>2</sup> This state of affairs continued more or less throughout the fifth century. A change is to be noticed during Cassiodorus' lifetime, although for reasons already mentioned, its results were not as quickly communicated to the Latin West as would have been the case even during the fourth century. It is a now generally discredited misrepresentation of the facts that the closing of the Platonic Academy in A.D. 529 and the emigration of the remaining professors, like Simplicios, the great commentator on Aristotle, to the Persian court, put an end to the continuous teaching of pre-Christian Greek philosophy. The truth is that just before and during Justinian's reign (527-565) philosophical and scientific teaching was more generally being taken over by Christians. The outstanding representative of this new development is the commentator on Aristotle, John Philoponus in Alexandria, himself a Christian heretic (485-555), whose work against Proclus' "De aeternitate mundi" appeared in the year that the Platonic academy was closed.<sup>3</sup> Other Christian scholars of the same sixth century are the commentators on Aristotle, Elias and David in Alexandria, Johannes Lydus in Constantinople and Stephanus of

<sup>1</sup> The best known Greek physician in the fourth century, Oribasius, composed his huge medical encyclopedia for the pagan emperor Julian, and there were, on the other hand, still Christian circles who preferred to base medicine on religion only, and were openly hostile to Greek scientific medicine as established in the fifth and fourth century A.D.

<sup>2</sup> One of the main complaints of the Christians during Julian's reign was that they were prevented from attending philosophical and rhetorical instruction given by pagan teachers.

<sup>3</sup> It was fully used by the great Muhammadan theologian al-Ghazali (1059-1111) in his fight against the doctrine of the eternity of the world upheld by the Aristotelian philosophers.



Alexandria who was called from there to Constantinople at the beginning of the seventh century, shortly before the Arab conquest of Egypt, and lectured on Plato and Aristotle at both places.<sup>1</sup> The same development took place in minor centres. The Syriac translator Sergius<sup>2</sup> came to Alexandria at the beginning of the sixth century, and the Syriac Church, which had become a more and more independent national church, fully shared this now definite attitude of the Greek Christian world towards its own philosophical and scientific legacy; not only the Bible and works of the Christian Fathers but also philosophy, medicine, etc., were translated into Syriac.

It is a commonplace among scholars and yet so often not taken into due account that the preservation of Greek literature as a whole, and particularly the preservation and transmission of Greek philosophy and science, etc., to posterity, is almost exclusively due to the Christians of the later centuries of the Roman Empire. It is hence not surprising that the selection made by these Christian philosophers and scientists was limited and by no means comprehended all the material which was still available. They felt bound to preserve only those works which appealed to their own philosophical and theological thought, which in its turn largely, though not exclusively, depended on the different schools of Neoplatonism which existed independently or had been taken over by Christian teachers.<sup>3</sup> The special interests of the later centuries guaranteed not only the continuous study of Plato's dialogues and Aristotle's lecture courses but also, e.g. of Alexander of Aphrodisias, of Plotinus and other Neoplatonic authors.<sup>4</sup> The same applies to the very important achievements of Hellenistic scientific medicine. Galen, a man still in contact with the last remnants of Hellenistic research, and himself a good teacher, steeped in a rich tradition,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. USENER, *De Stephano Alexandrino* (Bonn, 1880) and *Kleine Schriften*, III, pp. 247 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 163, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The continuity of European civilisation is largely due to the fact that the Christians took to Greek philosophy at a very early stage of their history and eventually made it part of a Christian syllabus of education, particularly in the eastern part of the Empire. Cf. recently, W. JAEGER, *Humanism and Theology* (The Aquinas Lecture, Milwaukee, 1943).

<sup>4</sup> Hellenistic and pre-socratic philosophy were neglected and eventually lost.

gradually overshadowed all his predecessors and became the main author to be studied in the medical schools. Fortunately the works of Hippocrates, whom Galen appreciated as highly as philosophers of the Imperial Age appreciated Plato's authority, were handed down along with Galen and studied with the help of his commentaries. This is the background of the Arabic translations from the Greek: Philosophy, Medicine, Mathematics, Astronomy, etc., as studied in the sixth century in Alexandria and elsewhere, in Antioch or Constantinople. It is slightly different from the later Byzantine transmission of these branches of the Greek legacy, which was modified and still more narrowed down as a result of later developments of Byzantine civilisation after the Muslim conquest. We should not forget that the Arabs had neither an interest in a Greek work just because it was written in Greek, nor in Greek poetry or literary prose.<sup>1</sup> But with this reservation in mind we are now in a better position to understand why the Arab achievements in philosophy, medicine, science, etc., could surpass those of the genuine heirs of Greek civilisation so considerably that Arab medicine was translated into Byzantine Greek during the eleventh century, no longer vice versa.<sup>2</sup> And it will also be less surprising to find that a not inconsiderable quantity of otherwise lost Greek philosophical, scientific and medical works can be regained from rediscovered Arabic translations. We are still just beginning to cultivate this very promising new field of research. It is beyond the scope of this paper to give a summary, e.g. of the texts actually discovered in Arabic disguise within the last century. With the exception of the papyri, the Arabic versions are our only hope for a better knowledge of ancient Greek literature than we possess at present.

## 2.

These are some of the reasons which might be mentioned in an attempt to explain the contrast between the early Christian and Muhammadan period and between Latin and Arabic Middle

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., I. L. HEIBERG, *Geschichte der Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften im Altertum* (München, 1925), p. 117.

Ages with regard to the legacy of Greek philosophy, medicine and science. Intermediaries such as the translator Hunain b. Ishaq and his like certainly deserve a high appreciation, having been instrumental in bringing about the continuity of this branch of European civilisation at a very critical stage of European history. But it would be scarcely justified to consider Arabic translations and Arabic original philosophical or medical works only as a kind of quarry for the Classical scholar and to rejoice in the many recent discoveries in this field. This would explain only the material preservation of Greek philosophy and science among Muhammadans, and not show how they assimilated this foreign legacy to their own needs and transmitted it to later generations of their own people, so that it eventually could be made available to the Western Latin world. We have therefore to look at some of the representatives of Muhammadan philosophy, if we desire to understand how Dante could dare to associate Avicenna and Averroes with the great philosophers and physicians of the pre-Christian age of Greek philosophy. I choose as such representatives two of the earliest Muhammadan philosophers, living in the ninth and tenth centuries, the Arab al-Kindī (died about A.D. 873) and the Turk al-Fārābī (died A.D. 950). Most of their works have only recently become known as a result of modern Western scholarship, some are known but still unpublished, and the greater part is still not thoroughly explained, as it certainly deserves to be. A feature common to many Muhammadan philosophers is already evident in outline in the preface of al-Kindī's *Metaphysics*, a work on the Principles of Reality and the One, written in Baghdad between A.D. 833 and 842. I quote from the unpublished text : <sup>1</sup> " It is fitting then to acknowledge the utmost gratitude to all those who have contributed even a little to truth not to speak of all those who have contributed much. If they had not lived, it would have been impossible for us, despite all our zeal, during the whole of our lifetime, to assemble these principles of truth which form the basis of the final inferences of our research. The assembling of all these elements has been

<sup>1</sup> Edition and translation are being prepared by M. Guidi and the present writer.



effected century by century, in past ages down to our own time. A single lifetime would not suffice to complete it, even at the cost of tireless research undertaken with the utmost perseverance by an extremely discerning mind. Aristotle, who was a leader of the Greeks in philosophy, has also said: 'it is fitting to acknowledge with gratitude the contribution of those who have added anything to truth . . . they have prepared for us the road by which we can reach truth.' How fine these words are. It is fitting then for us not to be ashamed to acknowledge truth and to assimilate it from whatever source it comes to us, even if it is brought to us by former generations and foreign peoples. For him who seeks the truth there is nothing of higher value than truth itself; it never cheapens nor abases him who searches for it, but ennobles and honours him."<sup>1</sup> This unconditional tolerance and open-mindedness is characteristic of Muhammadan philosophy from al-Kindi down to Averroes, "le Boèce de la philosophie arabe". As far as truth is concerned

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. [ARISTOTLE] *Metaph.* α1, 993a30 ff and the philosopher and physician al-Razi (died A.D. 920), *Liber ad Almansorem* IV, 32, "It is not possible for a man, though he lives to a great age, to attain to this part of knowledge so considerable in itself, unless he treads in the tracks of the ancients; the extent of this science far exceeding the bounds of human life: and the same thing is not in this alone, but in many other professions. The authors who have improved this art are not a few, but they are not to be comprehended within the compass of a few years; a thousand writers perhaps for a thousand years have been improving this art, and profession: and he that industriously studies those authors will, in the short period of life, find out as much, as if he had lived a thousand years himself, or employed those thousand years in the study of physic. But if the perusal of ancient authors comes once to be slighted, what can any single person find out, or what proportion can his personal abilities, though much superior to others, bear to the immense treasures of the ancients?" (quoted from W. A. GREENHILL, *A Treatise on Small-Pox and Measles*, by . . . al-Razi [London, 1847], pp. 79 f.). The great Renaissance physician, Vesalius (s. XVI), appreciated al-Razi as the last representative of true Greek medicine. In the preface of his anatomical work *De fabrica corporis humani*, he speaks of the destructive tendencies operating in the history of science: "In bygone times (i.e. in the West after the Gothic deluge and in the East after the reign of Mansur, al-Razi's royal protector in Persia) medicine began to be sore distempered. The Arabs were able to stave off the downfall of medicine for so long a time, because at the age of Mansur they still lived as was right on terms of familiarity with the Greeks (sub quo Arabes nobis adhuc cum Graecis merito familiares vigeabant)". Cf. L. EDELSTEIN, Andreas Vesalius The Humanist, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 14 (1943), pp. 547 ff.

there are no differences of creed, language or race to be considered. Aristotle is referred to as the paladin of Greek philosophers, in full agreement with Neoplatonic and Christian philosophical teaching during the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. We have recently traced a brief introduction to Aristotle by al-Kindi;<sup>1</sup> this treatise and particularly the slightly unusual division of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* to be observed in it allows us even to determine al-Kindi's immediate spiritual ancestors more closely. His ultimate Greek source must be an introduction to Aristotle of a more Platonic character. He is apparently nearer to some Christian variant of Proclus' Athenian Neoplatonic school—that closed down by Justinian—than to the Neoplatonic Christian school of Alexandria, with which al-Farabi and through him Averroes are ultimately connected.<sup>2</sup> I mention this fact only in order to demonstrate that Islamic philosophy by no means exclusively depended on the preservation and continuity of one ancient tradition only, but that the individual philosophers, especially in the first stage of this new phase in the history of European thought, could rely on several distinct intermediaries. Al-Kindi's Aristotelean syllabus is almost complete, with the few exceptions mentioned before. It differs, however, from the syllabus known from the Greek Aristotelean commentators from the age of Andronicus of Rhodes down to Elias and David in so far as it assigns the first place not to Logic but to the Quadrivium, i.e. mainly to Mathematics, whereas Aristotle, his commentators and the Arabic followers of this tradition place Mathematics between Natural Science and Metaphysics. This difference, e.g. connects al-Kindi with a non-Alexandrian tradition of Aristotle-reading.<sup>3</sup> We should not overlook, however, that, except for such small differences, the philosophy of Aristotle as referred to by all the Arabic philosophers is very different from our actual knowledge of Aristotle's philosophical personality. Aristotle is a creative thinker, who likes to correct his opinions continuously and is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 164, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. PRAECHTER, *Richtungen und Schulen im Neuplatonismus, Genethliakon für Robert* (Berlin, 1910), p. 103 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. GUIDI-WALZER, *op. cit.*, (p. 164, n. 1), pp. 378 ff.

never satisfied with the results of his untiring research. His analytical mind is never at rest; for al-Kindi Aristotelean philosophy is a static system of conceptions, of truth once obtained in the past and to be kept and passed on as such. But it would be quite unfair to charge al-Kindi and the other Arabic Aristoteleans with this wrong notion of Aristotle's philosophy as a merely conceptual scholasticism. It is due to the otherwise remarkable achievement of the Greek commentators on Aristotle, whose works, i.e. the lectures delivered by them in the philosophical schools, were handed down to the Islamic world; Islamic exegesis of Aristotle follows the Greek commentaries without a gap.<sup>1</sup>

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that al-Kindi—and the same applies *mutatis mutandis* to the other Islamic philosophers—followed the authority of ancient Greek thought without reserve and without any claim to an individual achievement of his own. On the contrary he is fully conscious of his own position, as we learn from the next section of the preface of his *Metaphysics* (from which I quoted above): “It is fitting then to remain faithful to the principle which we have followed in all our works, which is first to record in complete quotations all that the Ancients have said on the subject, secondly to complete what the Ancients have not fully expressed, and this according to the usage of our Arabic language, the customs of our age and our own ability.”<sup>2</sup> An example of what he might have meant by these words might be quoted from the same *Introduction to Aristotle*. After having dealt with the mathematical sciences, the different parts of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* and another purely logical item, he proceeds, to the modern reader's surprise, to state the limitations of pure thought and to attribute the highest intellectual superiority to the intuition of the prophetic mind. “There exists”, he says, “a knowledge

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. JAEGER, *Aristoteles* (Berlin, 1923), pp. 2 ff., English edition (Oxford, 1934), p. 4 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Also al-Razi did not at all abide by authority. In his “Comprehensive Book”—the “Continens” of the Western world—he first cites for each disease all the Greek, Syrian, Arabic, Persian and Indian authors, and at the end gives his own opinion and experience.



which is a miraculous prerogative of the prophets and distinguishes them from other people, because for people who are not prophets there is no possibility of arriving at any knowledge whatsoever without research, logic, preparatory sciences, and a long period of instruction. The prophets on the contrary arrived at knowledge without needing those aids, but simply by the will of the Lord who sends them. But common people are by nature incapable of arriving at similar knowledge because all such things are beyond their nature and their efforts, and they can do nothing but submit themselves with obedience and docility, and profess faith in the things which the prophets reveal to us.”<sup>1</sup> This kind of “divine knowledge” cannot be traced in Aristotle’s courses of lectures but there is a marked resemblance to the Athenian Neoplatonists’ attitude towards certain philosophical and pseudoreligious writers of late Greek philosophy, whose authority was unconditionally accepted as a kind of divine revelation.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of divine revelation into an otherwise mainly Aristotelean system of thought constitutes a further link between al-Kindi and the Athenian neoplatonist school. But the special question which al-Kindi discusses as an instance of the divine knowledge “not to be stated in the languages in which human speech is expressed” had never been considered by any pagan Greek philosopher; it concerns the resurrection of the body, one of the great religious paradoxes, common to Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, and often discussed by Greek Christian theologians of the Imperial Age, but never by pagan philosophers. Pagan Greek thought in facing the problem of death provided arguments for the immortality of the soul, and of the soul alone. Al-Kindi’s theological chapter, based as it is on some verses taken from the new Muhammadan revealed book, i.e. the Qur’ān,<sup>3</sup> is nevertheless again utterly Greek in its method. A well-known argument of Plato’s *Phaedo* is converted into an argument for the *ἀνάστασις σαρκός*, and most of the dialectical inferences used are to be found in Aristotle’s *Topics*. There are, moreover, parallels to al-Kindi’s

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* (p. 164, n. 1), cap. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., PROCLUS, *The Elements of Theology*, ed. E. R. Dodds (Oxford, 1933), p. xii.

<sup>3</sup> Sura, 36, 78-82.

theological statement to be found in Christian theologians like St. John of Damascus.<sup>1</sup> It is thus a very probable guess that al-Kindi took over his syllabus of secular knowledge and his conception of the inspired teachings of the prophets from a Christian school which had developed in consequence of the general changes described above and which put divine revelation above reason and was not convinced that natural theology could answer every question. This school was, however, rather a Christianised variation of a Neoplatonist (and hence polytheistic) school of the Athenian type than a Christian college based on a religious philosophy like the one taught by Origen and Eusebius.<sup>2</sup> Al-Kindi's immediate spiritual ancestor was most probably Syriac. His own achievement was then, if my view is correct, the substitution of some Qur'ān verses for similar verses of the New Testament and the first presentation of this type of philosophy to the Islamic world. The heretical critics of revealed truth which he attacks, in full agreement with Muhammad but with Greco-Christian arguments, may have been just ordinary sceptics or pagan philosophers. The layman al-Kindi, writes for the "enlightened intellects" of speculative theologians like the Mu'tazilites<sup>3</sup> and other believers who seek rational proof of their beliefs and who need arms in their fight against heresies and rival religions. He has to build up his own position in opposition to orthodox intolerance, as we gather from his biography and from another section of the preface of his *Metaphysics*. Against narrow-minded orthodox theologians he uses the Aristotelean argument, meant originally for sceptical or rhetorical opponents of philosophy:<sup>4</sup> "They are bound to say that the attainment of this knowledge is either necessary or unnecessary. If they say it is necessary, they must agree to go in search of it; if they say it is not necessary they

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *De fide orthodoxa*, IV, 27.

<sup>2</sup> I do not here inquire into the hellenistic and even older sources of the Islamic theory of prophecy. Antioch might have been one of the links between the Athenian school of Syrianus and Proclus and the Syriac Nestorian tradition.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. S. NYBERG, s.v. Mu'tazila in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III (1936), pp. 787-793. According to the biographical tradition al-Kindi was a Mu'tazilite himself.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Aristotle's *Protrepticus* (fr. 51 Rose = p. 22 Walzer).

must give their reasons and the arguments to prove it. But to give reasons and arguments is part of the attainment of philosophical knowledge in its essential truth. Hence the attainment of philosophical knowledge is necessary and obligatory for them.”<sup>1</sup>

Trying to explain the interesting difference between al-Kindi and the school of al-Farabi and Averroes, it will be convenient to start with al-Farabi's quite different treatment of the crucial issue of the resurrection of the body. Al-Farabi has been blamed for his inconsistency in this important question by a later Muhammadan philosopher, ibn Tufail, Averroes' older philosopher-friend.<sup>2</sup> He mentions in the preface of his philosophical romance that al-Farabi holds in his main work “On the best state” that immortality is granted only to the souls of good and wise men, whereas those of the bad are doomed to complete destruction. There can be no question either of Hell or of resurrection of the body or of a transmigration and second incarnation of the soul. But in his otherwise lost treatise “On the best religion” he deals fully with punishment and reward in a future world, and treats Hell and Paradise as a reality, in agreement with the Qur'anic tradition.<sup>3</sup> There is, however, plenty of evidence to show that al-Farabi has not been inconsistent and that ibn Tufail misunderstood his attitude. For al-Farabi philosophy is by no means subordinated to religion; philosophy and religion are rather co-ordinated. Both have the same aim but reach it in different ways, according to the different capacity of man. Only a few are able to philosophise and to understand logical demonstrations and use them in their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. WALZER, *New Light on al-Kindi*, in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*. . . . Al-Kindi has also the merit to have introduced Plotinus in Aristotelean disguise to Arabic civilisation, having asked a Christian Syriac translator to prepare for him an Arabic translation of the wrongly so-called Theology of Aristotle.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Tufail's work was one of the earliest Arabic philosophical works to be published in this country. It was edited, together with a Latin translation, by Edward Pocock, junior, at Oxford in 1671, under the title “*Philosophus Autodidactus*”. A new translation, this time into English, was published in 1708 by Simon Ockley, and reprinted in 1929 (*The History of Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, etc., edited by A. S. Fulton).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L. GAUTHIER, *Hayy ben Yaqdhān*<sup>2</sup> (Beyrouth, 1936), p. 12.



search for truth. The rest cannot be educated by philosophical arguments and rational proof but only by convincing "rhetorical" arguments based on truth and hence producing true opinion. This is the true realm of religion, of myth and of symbols, and, e.g. of the creed in its impressive rhetorical form. Religion thus definitely represents a minor degree of certainty. Where you enter its sphere, you are, according to Farabi, allowed to introduce even resurrection and rewards and punishments in a future life, although you are fully conscious of the fact that your statement disagrees with what you know to be true for philosophical reasons.<sup>1</sup> We find the doctrine that only the good souls do not perish together with the body as early as the age of Chrysippus.<sup>2</sup> It was evidently, as happened to so many Stoic tenets, accepted by some branch of Middle Platonic philosophy which was still alive in one of the Neoplatonist schools of Alexandria; for we know independently that al-Farabi was convinced he had his immediate spiritual ancestors in Alexandria,<sup>3</sup> and an analysis of his scheme of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* (from an unpublished source), yields the same result.<sup>4</sup> Moreover the argument that the tale of reward and punishment in a future life has a mere symbolical value, is of long standing and at least to be traced back to Hellenistic thought. The theory behind it is even older, it comes down to al-Farabi in direct line from Plato's education of the Guardians, from Stoic sources, and from hellenistic interpreters of the closing myth of the Republic. Aristotle, too, held that myths are mainly important for the persuasion of the unphilosophical crowd.<sup>5</sup> Al-Farabi thus is evidently nearer to classical Greek philosophy

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. GILSON, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages* (New York—London 1939), II: The Primacy of Reason.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Diog. Laert, VII, 157 = *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* II, no. 811, Arnim; Areios Didymos frg. 39, 6 Diels (*Doxographi Graeci*, p. 471). Al-Farabi introduces the survival of the good souls as philosophical doctrine, not as popular belief.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. MEYERHOF, *Von Alexandrien nach Bagdad*, *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 1930 xiii.

<sup>4</sup> A critical edition of al-Farabi's hitherto unpublished treatise *De Aristotelis philosophia* (= *De Beatitudine assequenda*, lib. III) is being prepared by F. Rosenthal, Cincinnati, and the present writer.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Metaph.* A8, 1074, a38 ff.; α3, 995, a3.

which was somehow still alive in Alexandria, than al-Kindi, the late descendant of the Athenian school. Philosophy is not the handmaid of theology in his philosophical system. But al-Farabi's teachers were Christians, though they were not Nestorians like al-Kindi's, but Jacobites, and we have again to look for a connecting link between pagan Greek thought and Islamic philosophy concerning this particular brand of Neoplatonism. There is no direct connection with Origen's Alexandrian Christian school of the third century. But we may refer to a Neoplatonist of Alexandria at the beginning of the fifth century who became a Christian and a bishop: Synesius of Cyrene. He might help us to understand how a Christian educated in the Aristotelean and Platonic syllabus of the pagan school could be a sincere Christian and still not abandon his belief in the ultimate superiority of philosophy. After his conversion, Synesius writes to his brother, explicitly denying Resurrection and the end of the world: "The resurrection (*ἀνάστασις*) which is an object of common belief, is nothing to me but a sacred and mysterious allegory and I am free from sharing the views of the vulgar crowd therein. The philosophical mind albeit the discerner of truth, admits the employment of fiction: for light is to the eye what truth is to the mind. Just as the eye would be injured by excess of light, and just as darkness is more helpful to those of weak eyesight, even so do I consider that fiction may be beneficial to the populace, and the truth injurious to those not strong enough to gaze steadfastly on the radiance of real being. If considerations of this kind and the rules of my priesthood grant me this, I might be a priest, being fond of wisdom at home and being fond of myths outdoors."<sup>1</sup> It is this old Platonic conviction, which can equally be applied to Greek myth and law and to Christian and Muslim religion, which was taken over by al-Farabi. Averroes, who is the last great representative of the Arabic philosophical tradition founded by al-Farabi, shared his view of the primacy of reason. He maintained like al-Farabi "that philosophical truth was absolute truth, the Koran and its theological interpretations being nothing

<sup>1</sup> SYNESIUS, *Epistulae* 105, 48 ff. = *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 66, p. 1485. English translation by Fitzgerald, p. 206. Cf. e.g. [ARISTOTLE], *Met.* α1, 993 b9.

more to him than popular approaches to pure philosophy".<sup>1</sup> But he, like al-Farabi and like his Greek predecessors—including incidentally Galen's startling statement on the Christians<sup>2</sup>—entertained a sincere respect for the moralizing power of religion.

But the Muhammadan philosophical tradition represented by al-Farabi and Averroes achieved still more for the continuity of European thought. During the Imperial Age Aristotle, who had not been very popular in Hellenistic philosophy, had become one of the main authors to be studied in the philosophical schools. After the lecture courses, which seem during the Hellenistic Age to have been known only to specialists, had been almost rediscovered and edited in the age of Cicero, a veritable school of very remarkable commentators of Aristotle developed. Alexander of Aphrodisias, an older contemporary of Plotinus, is one of the best known of them; others are Themistius, friend of the Emperor Julian, and John Philoponus of Alexandria, the first Christian commentator of Aristotle of whom we know. The achievements of these commentators were so well known to, and understood by, the Arabs that we can, e.g., prove the spuriousness of the Greek text of Alexander's commentary on the theological book of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* from a fragment of the genuine text preserved only by Averroes;<sup>3</sup> two of Themistius' paraphrases are only preserved in a Hebrew translation, made from the Arabic version of the Greek text.<sup>4</sup> The commentaries of Averroes, who preserved and developed the tradition of the Greek commentators, are still considered as outstanding in our own age. For more than three centuries the Western world studied Aristotle mainly with the help of Averroes' commentaries. A new edition and partially new translation was published as late as about the middle of the sixteenth century,<sup>5</sup> and Zabarella, a man especially cherished

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. GILSON, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plato Arabus I (edd. P. Kraus et R. Walzer), p. 98, and the present writer's forthcoming study on Galen's statements on the Jews and Christians.

<sup>3</sup> J. FREUDENTHAL, *Die durch Averroes erhaltenen Fragmente Alexanders, Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1885.

<sup>4</sup> THEMISTIUS, *De caelo Hebraice et Latine* ed. S. Landauer, 1902. THEMISTIUS in *Metaph. libr. paraphrasis Hebraice et Latine*, ed. S. Landauer, 1902.

<sup>5</sup> Cf., e.g. E. RENAN, *Averroes et l'Averroïsme* (Paris, 1861), pp. 377 ff.



by Aristotelean scholars of to-day,<sup>1</sup> is still steeped deeply in Averroes.

Averroes did not comment on Aristotle's *Politics* in discussing the last part of his Aristotelean syllabus but selected Plato's *Republic* instead. This was neither his own invention nor just due to the fact that no Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Politics* could be traced. There is at its base an educational syllabus and a philosophical doctrine which is not known to us from any Greek source. It appears first in al-Farabi, and scholars have not sufficiently realised that the main trend of Averroes' thought is already fully evident in al-Farabi's nowadays well known philosophical system. The study of the whole text of Aristotle and of the commentators appears to be firmly established in the tenth century. Students are no longer satisfied to rely on summaries. Al-Farabi's newly found introduction to Aristotle, larger than that by al-Kindi discussed above, puts it beyond doubt that his understanding and knowledge of Aristotle continues the best philosophical tradition still alive at the time of the Arabic conquest: the school of Alexandria. Also his exegesis of Plato and his general conception of Plato's thought show an interpretation of Plato quite different from the one in vogue at Proclus' Athenian Neoplatonist school and communicated to fifteenth-century Florence through Byzantine channels. Plato is not only a Metaphysician and a Theologian for al-Farabi and his Greek source. *Timaeus* and *Parmenides* are not the only works which really count, but *Republic* and *Laws*, not at all appreciated in the Athenian school, have the place which they rightly deserve in every consideration of Plato's thought. Plato's political thought was not overlooked in this Platonic school, which co-existed with the almost exclusively religious Platonism of the Athenian school and its decided detachment from everyday life.<sup>2</sup> It is due to this tradition that the Islamic world got to know in translation not a mere fragment of the *Timaeus* like the Latin Occident but the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RENAN, *op. cit.*, p. 401, and, e.g. W. D. ROSS, *Aristotle* <sup>3</sup> (London, 1937), pp. 153, 292 ff. G. R. G. MURE, *Aristotle* (London, 1932), pp. 248 ff., 253 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. PLATO ARABUS II. ALFARABIUS *De Platonis Philosophia*, ed. F. Rosenthal et R. Walzer (London, 1943), p. IX ff.

complete text of *Timaeus*, *Republic* and *Laws*. Al-Farabi—and Averroes after him—followed Aristotle in *Logic*, *Physics*, *Psychology*, *Metaphysics*, and *Ethics*, although slightly changing Peripatetic *Metaphysics* by adding Neoplatonic elements. But in *Politics*—possibly following some Greek predecessor in Alexandria—he deliberately chose Plato as his guide and showed how easily Plato's ideal state could be adapted to Muhammadan conditions without any substantial loss with regard to its main elements. It would be under the guidance of the philosopher-caliph-king, and the multitude in it would not be educated by Greek myth but by Muhammadan religion and law. We still possess the summary of Plato's *Republic* composed by Averroes, in a fourteenth-century Hebrew and in a sixteenth-century Latin translation. He used the same ancient summary of the work as al-Farabi 200 years before.<sup>1</sup> If it had been translated into Latin in the thirteenth century, together with his commentaries on Aristotle, Western Platonism might well have developed on different lines, and Plato's true philosophy might not have been overshadowed for so long a time by the powerful figure of Plotinus.<sup>2</sup>

Such are the Arabic philosophers whom Dante associates with the great pagan Greek and Latin Philosophers of the past, "with people" he says, "who had pensive and serious eyes, and great dignity in their countenances, who spake but little, and with soft voices":

Genti v'eran con occhi tardi e gravi  
di grande autorità ne' lor sembianti  
Parlavan rado, con voci suavi.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew text, with English translation and notes, will be published in the *PLATO ARABUS* series in the near future.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g. R. KLIBANSKY, *Plato's Parmenides in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, I. 2 (London, 1943), pp. 281 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Inferno*, IV. 112-114.

## THE MORROW OF THE GREAT CHARTER: AN ADDENDUM

By H. G. RICHARDSON, M.A., B.Sc.

KINDLY critics have pointed out two lapses in the article which appeared under the above title in the *BULLETIN* for October, 1944. These lapses do not affect the argument or the conclusions, but they do impair the story, which I may perhaps be permitted to put right.

In the first place, it was not made clear—indeed, the fact was obscured—that, although the great charter was dated 15th June, it was ratified on the 19th. Mr. W. S. McKechnie established a very convincing case for the view that it was on 15th June that King John accepted the demands made upon him by the barons and signified his acceptance by having the great seal affixed to the Articles embodying their terms. Not until the 19th did the king himself say that peace had been made, and it seems necessary to deduce that it was on that day that final agreement had been reached on the wording of the charter.<sup>1</sup> Four days of discussion would produce the much corrected draft which I have postulated and which, because of the difficulties it presented to the transcribers, would explain the differences between the four sealed copies of the charter that have survived. Even so, it is perhaps uncertain whether the first fair example, which seems to have been preserved in the treasury of the exchequer, was written out and sealed on the 19th, for John continued to reside at Windsor until the 25th,<sup>2</sup> and his chancery continued to date instruments from Runnymede until 23rd June.

With these modifications the account I gave of the sealing and promulgation of the charter stands. Copies of the charter, all, of course, bearing the same date of 15th June, continued to be made until 22nd July, while the writs to the sheriffs, which assume that a sealed copy of the charter was available in every

<sup>1</sup> McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, pp. 37-41.

<sup>2</sup> So we can infer from Hardy's *Itinerary*.



county, were dated 19th June, although many of them were despatched, and certainly were delivered, well after that date. It was on this evidence that I argued that the great charter was accepted by all parties during the council of Oxford which began on 16th July and continued in session for a week or more. In turn this involves a corollary, namely that the charter was still, at least outwardly, accepted until an adjourned meeting of the council which was fixed for 20th August. The inference seems justified that the happenings at this meeting were the cause of the second breach between the king and the barons. A letter of 19th August sent by the king to the assembled bishops and barons, notifying his refusal to attend, and his action thereafter, in making his way to the coast and taking ship for Sandwich, would alone point in this direction, while a chronicler, who is believed to have been a canon of Barnwell Priory, appears to reveal the manner in which the breach came; the disclosure at the council of a papal mandate, identifiable, from the details given, with one embodied by Roger of Wendover in his *Flores Historiarum* and known from its opening words as 'Miramur plurimum'. Unfortunately, although the Barnwell chronicler obviously had available good sources of information, his narrative will not bear close examination, and it is safe to rely upon him only when he is corroborated. However, a letter of 5th September from the three commissioners named in the mandate bears out the chronicler to this extent, that it shows that before that date the barons had formally 'defied' the king by the mouth of Robert fitz Walter's chaplain and that the mandate itself had not been accepted as binding by Stephen Langton and his suffragans, or at least those of his suffragans who stood by him, for we must make exception of the bishop of Winchester and the bishop elect of Norwich. It was the evidence of this letter that I overlooked, although it had been published by Professor F. M. Powicke in 1929,<sup>1</sup> and should have retained a place in my memory.

Having said so much, I have repaired the omissions in my previous article, for I was concerned, in particular, with the relations of the barons and the king and with the organisation

<sup>1</sup> *English Historical Review*, xliv. 87-93.

they set up before and after Runnymede. But a fresh reading of the instruments that Innocent III issued in 1215 and the comments that have been passed upon them have suggested that it might be helpful to say something more of the part played by the pope in the contest, for I am not sure that it has been fully understood.

To begin with, it may be well to emphasise two points. The first is that papal bulls and mandates did not execute themselves. They came, as a rule, into the hands of those who had sought them, and they might be suppressed or withheld for a time. Many were inoperative for other reasons, into which it is unnecessary at the moment to enter. Among suppressed instruments we can, in all probability, include a bull of 18th June which has attracted attention in recent years. This threatened the barons with excommunication and their lands with interdict unless they accepted and observed the procedure the pope had devised for settling their differences with the king. Not only was the pope's projected procedure plainly superseded by the great charter and the procedure therein laid down, but had there been any attempt to make use of this instrument when it came to hand, about the last week in July, we cannot doubt that there would have ensued an explosion of wrath against the king forthwith, instead of three weeks or so later, when the barons were provoked to 'defy' the king by their knowledge that he was seeking to give effect to 'Miramur plurimum' (if, for the moment, we may continue to repeat an incorrect title). It is safe therefore to conclude that the bull of 18th June was known to none, outside a narrow official circle, until it was printed by Prynne in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> It leaves no trace on contemporary history and any information it gives is of subordinate interest.

The second point to emphasise is that the documents issuing

<sup>1</sup> *Exact Chronological Vindication*, iii. 27-28: re-edited by G. B. Adams in *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays*, pp. 41-45, and reprinted in his *Council and Courts in Anglo-Norman England*, pp. 367-371. The document was already mutilated when Prynne discovered it and the address and opening words are lost. It is evident that at the same time a mandate for enforcing the bull was addressed to Archbishop Langton and his suffragans: this, too, presumably was suppressed.

from the papal and royal chanceries have a value as historical evidence quite different from that of chronicles. This is doubtless a truism, but nevertheless it seems sometimes to be forgotten, and quite unnecessary difficulties are created by treating as statements of fact the errors of writers who, though much nearer to the events than we are, had much fewer sources of information, though it is true that they sometimes possessed documents that have failed to survive. The two chroniclers already mentioned, Roger of Wendover and the canon of Barnwell, provide the principal narrative sources available for our particular purpose: the former has long been recognised as confused in his chronology and unmindful of the integrity of the documents he had at his disposal, but the defects of the latter have scarcely been perceived.<sup>1</sup> I have already had occasion to point out that his account of the arrangements made by the barons for administering those parts of the country under their control is wrongly placed after the second breach with the king in late August instead of four months earlier,<sup>2</sup> and this, in itself, should arouse our suspicions of the reliability of a narrative in which such confusion was possible. On some points, as we shall see, his testimony must be rejected altogether.

To understand how Innocent came to issue the instruments we know he did issue in 1215, either because they have come down to us or because there are references to them, we must keep clearly before our minds that, from the point of view of the Curia, the dispute which centres round the great charter was primarily a judicial issue. We are apt to think of the issue as being primarily political, and we may get the impression that judge and politician were sometimes confused in the person of Innocent, but whether he himself was conscious of any distinction between these capacities may be doubted. By John's surrender of 1213, England had become part of the patrimony of saint

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, who edited the chronicle, which is preserved in the *Memoriale* of Walter of Coventry, recognised that the author's chronology was not to be relied on, but believed that he retained 'an exact knowledge of the sequence of events' (vol. ii, pp. viii-ix). An examination of his narrative for 1215 shows that for this year, at least, the sequence of events is hopelessly confused.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN, xxviii. 431.



Peter<sup>1</sup> and, if for no other reason, the differences between John and his barons were justiciable before the papal court. Innocent reiterates his desire and intention to do justice between the parties and both were, in fact, represented before the Curia.<sup>2</sup> But while the pope was willing and anxious to give a patient hearing to the barons and to render judgement upon the points in dispute, they persisted in pursuing their own methods of settlement outside the court, methods that certainly at times had the appearance of violence, making themselves, as Innocent said, judges and executioners in their own cause.<sup>3</sup> There was another complication when John assumed the cross and obtained thereby the special measure of protection afforded to crusaders, but this did not seriously affect the issue, though it added to the prolixity of the documents and produced some disingenuous arguments.

From the standpoint Innocent assumed, that of a judge with litigants before him, the barons were contumacious and the only methods of coercion open to him were excommunication and interdict. These weapons he was disposed to use freely, but he could not very well employ them directly: sentence must be pronounced locally with local knowledge if it was to touch individual culprits and leave the innocent unscathed. The obvious agent for the purpose was Stephen Langton, the archbishop of Canterbury whom Innocent himself had thrust upon a more than reluctant king, and we know that Langton had received a mandate on several occasions to pronounce the barons excommunicate.<sup>4</sup> He had on each occasion failed to do so. We

<sup>1</sup> Letter of John to Innocent, 29th May, 1215: 'Nos vero . . . asserebamus nostris quod terra nostra patrimonium erat beati Petri' (*Foedera*, i. 129). So also in the letter of 5th September: 'contra . . . pacem regni, quod est patrimonium beati Petri' . . . 'excessus quos in prefatum regem cruce signatum et beati Petri patrimonium commiserunt' (*English Historical Review*, xlv. 92-93).

<sup>2</sup> Apart from the inferences to be drawn from the instruments issued by the Curia, there is the account of William Mauclerc, the king's agent, in February, 1215, of the arrival of the barons' messengers (*Foedera*, i. 120).

<sup>3</sup> See especially the bull 'Utinam in persecutione' of 25th August, 1215, addressed to the barons: 'in causa ipsa vos iudices et executores feceritis' (*Foedera*, i. 136). There are similar words in 'Etsi karissimus' (*ibid.*; Bémont, *Chartes des libertés anglaises*, p. 43).

<sup>4</sup> Innocent's letter to Langton of 18th March (*Foedera*, i. 127); letter from John to Innocent of 29th May (*ibid.*, p. 129); letter of 5th September to Langton

must not suppose that in this he was remiss or wilfully disobedient. We must remember that the Curia was some five weeks distant from England and that no instrument was issued in the course of litigation except upon the motion of one of the parties. As the action developed, representatives of the parties on the spot could do little on their own initiative except to combat the moves of the other side. Every mandate, every bull, meant a message from England, so that, unless extraordinary steps were taken to hasten the messengers on their way, a period of little less than three months must elapse before a request could receive its answer. With the swift march of events the instruments that came in rapid succession from Rome were all too certain to be out of date on arrival and to bear little relation to existing circumstances. Exception could then quite properly be taken to them and they might have to be set aside, since to act upon them would not be fulfilling the intention of the court and might be unjust.<sup>1</sup> Nor must we exclude the possibility that the *ex parte* allegations, upon which action had been taken at Rome, might be false or not wholly true, and no one who received a mandate founded upon misrepresentations would, if he knew the actual facts, be justified in executing it.

I am far from suggesting that, in a court of law and before impartial judges, all the wrong would be found upon John's side and all the right upon the barons'. But there was a very considerable measure of right on the barons' side and a man of inflexible integrity, which Langton seems to have been, would be difficult to persuade that coercion by excommunication was justified by the circumstances at any stage in the dispute, especially since, as we have good reason to suppose, he believed that an accommodation was possible and was himself playing the part of mediator.<sup>2</sup> To John the position at length became

(*English Historical Review*, xliv. 92). As I have indicated above, the mandate mentioned in Innocent's bull of 18th June probably never reached the archbishop.

<sup>1</sup> So John tells the Pope that Langton had replied to him 'quod sententiam excommunicationis in eos nullò modo proferret, quia bene sciebat mentem vestram' (*Foedera*, i. 129).

<sup>2</sup> That Langton played a leading part in the actual framing either of the demands of the barons or of the charter I very much doubt. I find it impossible

[Footnote continued overleaf.]

intolerable and the only way of escape was to circumvent Langton. Now it was the practice of the papal court to address mandates (or letters of justice) to three commissioners named by the party who sought them. The common case was where a plaintiff named the judges delegate who were to try an action, in the country of the litigants, on behalf of the distant pope, the universal ordinary: <sup>1</sup> but the system was capable of extension to other forms of legal process, of which we have an example in 'Mirari cogimur', the correct title, as it turns out, of the mandate previously known, from Wendover's corrupt version, as 'Miramur plurimum'.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this mandate (often loosely called a bull) was to compel Langton and his suffragans to pass sentence of excommunication upon the contumacious barons, and the three commissioners appointed to effect this were undoubtedly named by John. The first in order was Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, who, when he was nominated towards the end of May, was justiciar and entirely at the service of the king.<sup>3</sup> The second was Simon, abbot of Reading, who a few months before had been on a mission to Flanders to recover large sums of

to believe Wendover's story that Langton discovered Henry I's coronation charter and communicated it to the barons. Not only was this charter easily accessible in a Latin text, as Professor Powicke has pointed out in this connection (*Stephen Langton*, pp. 113-116), but it was available in the vernacular. Liebermann printed a French translation which may be dated c. 1200 (*Transactions Royal Historical Soc.*, New Series, viii. 46-48). Harleian MS. 458, which contains this, contains also French translations of the coronation charters of Stephen and Henry II. Liebermann's dating of this manuscript (p. 37) is incomprehensible to me. He seemed to think that half a century separated the writing of fo. 3 from the writing of fo. 4. I should myself deduce that all these charters were circulating in Latin and in French translation about the turn of the century.

<sup>1</sup> For contemporary examples see Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, nos. 44, 45. For a contemporary application by a plaintiff for the appointment of three specified dignitaries as judges delegate see *Formularies* (Oxford Historical Soc.), ii. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Wendover, *Flores Historiarum* (ed. Coxe), iii. 336; *English Historical Review*, xlv. 91. It should perhaps be noted that a previous mandate of Innocent's of 18th March opens with the same words 'Mirari cogimur et moveri' (*Foedera*, i. 127).

<sup>3</sup> He was superseded by Hubert de Burgh in the course of the meeting at Runnymede (M. Paris, *Chronica Maiora* (Additamenta), vi. 65). This presumably was done to placate the barons.



money that the king had on deposit there.<sup>1</sup> The third was Pandulf, the pope's familiar and his personal representative in England, who had proved indispensable to John, as the king warmly acknowledged a few months later,<sup>2</sup> and who had been rewarded with the bishopric of Norwich early in August.<sup>3</sup>

At this point I should perhaps interject some comments on a system which, at first sight, might seem a travesty of justice. Nowadays we should no more dream of letting one of two litigants choose his own judges than we should dream of permitting bribery. But the system was so hedged about with safeguards that we can say no worse of it than that, in ordinary cases, it might entail the parties in undue inconvenience, delay and expense. It was the result of the exercise of universal jurisdiction by a remote and ill-informed court, lacking organised tribunals except at the centre: decentralised tribunals could not indeed be organised, since they would have duplicated existing local tribunals. Without delegated jurisdiction of this kind it would probably have been impossible, in the circumstances of the time, to enforce over the length and breadth of Western Christendom a uniform and highly technical canon law that was approaching its maturity in the pontificate of Innocent III, and the system, slovenly and dilatory as it was, had therefore its justification. Manifestly, however, if the safeguards against partiality were, in exceptional cases, wanting, then there was danger of abuse.

To return now to 'Mirari cogimur'. It is dated 7th July and the request for the appointment of the three commissioners was therefore made, as I have already indicated, about the end of May. John had, in fact, written to the pope on 29th May complaining both of the barons' and of Langton's attitude,<sup>4</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> He went in November, 1214, in company with the abbot of Waverley and three others (*Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, i. 175 a, b; *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, pp. 122b, 123-124).

<sup>2</sup> *Foedera*, i. 135: 'dominus Pandulphus, fidelis subdiaconus vester, Norwicensis electus, nobis prenecessarius esset in Anglia'.

<sup>3</sup> He had been elected before 9th August, when the king committed the temporalities to master R. of Warham, a monk of Norwich, and another whom master Pandulf should choose to act with him (*Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 152).

<sup>4</sup> *Foedera*, i. 129.

he makes there no request of which we can find the specific fulfilment in the mandate, and this instrument must therefore be the result either of a separate application that has not survived or, what is perhaps more likely, of instructions to the king's agents at the Curia. The purpose of the mandate is quite plainly expressed. All the disturbers of the king and kingdom, their accomplices and accessories are excommunicate and their lands are placed under interdict. Langton and his fellow bishops are strictly enjoined, on pain of suspension, to cause both sentences to be published every Sunday and festival throughout England until the offenders make satisfaction to the king and return humbly to his service. No appeal is to stand in the way of the execution of these instructions and everything else pertinent to the business. Finally power is given, in the usual terms, to two of the commissioners to act, if one of the three is unable to do so.<sup>1</sup>

There was ample time for this mandate to reach the king before 20th August, the day appointed for the adjourned meeting of the council, and, if use were to be made of the mandate at all, this meeting provided an opportunity for communicating it to all those principally concerned. I am inclined to accept the Barnwell chronicler's statement that events did fall out in this fashion,<sup>2</sup> even though there is no direct corroboration of his story. There is, however, indirect corroboration. It is quite clear that the barons could not have 'defied' John before the meeting on 20th August, while it is certain that they had done so by 5th September. The anonymous minstrel of Béthune, who was associated with the mercenary troops in the king's service and who retails what was believed by them, says that John did not dare await the coming of the barons but fled by sea to Kent,<sup>3</sup> which, indeed, the evidence provided by the chancery rolls substantially confirms.<sup>4</sup> It would seem, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> *English Historical Review*, xliv. 91-92. That this follows common form will be apparent by comparison with other contemporary mandates.

<sup>2</sup> Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale*, ii. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie*, pp. 152-153. He repeats the same story more briefly in *Une Chronique française des Rois de France* (Historiens de la France, xxiv.), p. 770.

<sup>4</sup> Hardy's *Itinerary* shows the king at Ludgershall, Wilts., on the 19th (whence he wrote to the assembled bishops and barons at Oxford), then at Downton on

that John was formally defied within a day or two of the Oxford meeting for, until this was done, the barons would not take up arms against the king. Why, then, should the knowledge that he intended to use 'Mirari cogimur' provoke such resentment that the barons decided to resort to war?

The letter of 5th September helps us to answer that question. The circumstances in which the mandate had been demanded had been radically changed by the concord of Runnymede. So long as that concord, embodied in the great charter, subsisted, the mandate was inoperative. But if one of the parties violated the terms of the agreement, the others would not be bound, and the position would at least approximate to that obtaining when the mandate had been sought. In the account given by the Barnwell chronicler of the meeting of 20th August, we get a hint that this consideration was in the king's mind. John's representatives, so the chronicler says, declared that the king had given up many things, in accordance with the agreement, and had refused nothing, but, since the peace, he had suffered grave wrongs and great damage: consequently it was not for him to make amends.<sup>1</sup> Whether the chronicler had any direct authority for this statement of his, or whether it is no more than an inference, he is borne out in substance by the words of Peter des Roches and his fellow commissioners. They say, in their letter of 5th September, that the barons had taken up arms against the king and the peace of the realm and against the three-fold treaty—*triplex forma pacis*—that is the great charter, for it embodied an agreement to which the pope, through his representative Pandulf, had been a consenting party, as well as the king and the barons. They praise, perhaps incautiously, the charter as being honourable and fair and acceptable to god-fearing men. Then, after a long denunciation of the activities of the barons and a demand that the archbishop and his suffragans shall act in accordance with the pope's mandate, the commissioners annul any constitutions, assizes, infeudations, grants or judgements made by the same and following days, and at Wareham on the 20th, 21st and 22nd. No further movements are recorded until 28th August, when John is at Sandwich.

<sup>1</sup> Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale*, ii. 223: 'sicut eis convenerat, plurima resignasse, sibi nihil esse refusum, immo post pacem initam graves iniurias et enormia sibi damna illata, nec esse qui emendaret'.



barons or to be made by them without royal authority. Still the letter rolls noisily along, denouncing and fulminating ; but we need not follow it to the end, for it adds nothing immediately relevant.<sup>1</sup> The commissioners make it clear that, while they praise the charter and do not, in express words, declare it void, they regard it as inoperative. Nothing the Twenty-five may do in exercise of the powers of coercion conferred upon them by chapter sixty-one is recognised as lawful ; and as for the wider powers of governing the country, which the Twenty-five assumed to be theirs, in the light perhaps of chapter fifty-five and of the 'convention' made at the Oxford Council in July,<sup>2</sup> these the commissioners abrogate when they annul the constitutions and other acts of the barons.

If anything like this, and it would seem certain that something very like it, was said by the king's representatives at the meeting at Oxford on 20th August, the bishops and the barons had a plain notification that John did not intend to be bound by the charter. The barons' reply is not in doubt : formal defiance and war. What was the reply of Langton and his fellow bishops ? According to the Barnwell chronicler, they continued their attempts at mediation and pursued the king to the coast, having a last, fruitless, meeting with him when he had already embarked. That this might have been their wish we may well believe, but unfortunately the chronicler's details, both of time and place, are impossible to accept. He seems to antedate the meeting at Oxford : he certainly sends the bishops to the wrong port in their quest for the king.<sup>3</sup> And then he brings them back to a

<sup>1</sup> *English Historical Review*, xlv. 92-93.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN, xxviii. 434.

<sup>3</sup> He seems to make the council meet on 16th instead of 20th August, and to last three days. After the close of the council, so he asserts, 'recesserunt itaque . . . episcopi apud Portesmue cum festinatione regem adeuntes' (W. of Coventry, *Memoriale*, ii. 223). Now John's presence at Wareham is evidenced by official instruments from 20th to 22nd August. The minstrel of Béthune is so far in accord as to say that the king placed the queen and his son Henry in safety in Corfe Castle, five miles to the south-east (*Histoire des Ducs de Normandie*, p. 152). The latter writer says that John embarked at Southampton ; the Barnwell chronicler says it was at Portsmouth. Either port, but especially Portsmouth, would involve a considerable land journey, of which there is no trace in John's itinerary. The probabilities point to embarkation from Poole Harbour. If John transhipped at Portsmouth, there is no likelihood that the bishops would know that they could find him there.

meeting with the barons at Staines on 26th August, at which, if we were to believe him, a very strange incident occurred. After much debate, because of the threat of suspension hanging over them, the bishops pronounced sentence of excommunication against the disturbers of the king and the kingdom. This, it is suggested, was done in so ambiguous a way that the sentence might be supposed to fall on the head of the king.<sup>1</sup> This story, undoubtedly *ben trovato*, has been generally accepted, yet, if it were true, it would not only involve a charge of childish subterfuge and inconsistency against Langton, but it would render incomprehensible the subsequent proceedings against him. What the archbishop was, in the view of Peter des Roches and Pandulf, required to do was to give instructions that the sentence of excommunication, in which the barons were already involved by the decision of the pope, should be published throughout the province of Canterbury repeatedly, every Sunday and holiday, until the barons submitted completely and entirely to the king. Langton had not done this by 5th September and he never, in fact, complied with the mandate. We are told by Roger of Wendover that he objected, on the ground that the truth had been suppressed when sentence of excommunication had been passed by Innocent upon the barons, and that he stated that he would in no wise publish the sentence until he learned the pope's true intention by word of mouth.<sup>2</sup> Roger seems to have had before him an account of the whole process against Langton, but from a source hostile to the archbishop,<sup>3</sup> and it is difficult

<sup>1</sup> W. of Coventry, *Memoriale*, ii. 224. A meeting at Staines on 26th August is mentioned also in 'Matthew of Westminster', *Flores Historiarum*, ii. 153; 'Annals of Southwark and Merton', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, xxxvi, 50; and the continuation of William of Malmesbury in *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, p. 202. The two latter confuse the meeting with the council of Oxford and make it last three days. Only the Barnwell writer mentions the sentence of excommunication. Behind all these there is evidently a common, and apparently obscure, source.

<sup>2</sup> *Flores Historiarum*, iii. 340. Ralf of Coggeshall has a somewhat similar account, but was obviously less well informed (*Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 174).

<sup>3</sup> Presumably this came to St. Albans when the king visited the convent in December, 1215, and demanded that the monks should send the pope's confirmation of Langton's suspension to all cathedral and monastic churches in England (Wendover, iii. 347). A note endorsed on the close roll refers to these

[Footnote continued overleaf.]

to know how much reliance to place upon the details he gives. Langton surely had much stronger ground than the commonplace exceptions of *suggestio falsitatis* or *veritatis suppressio*,<sup>1</sup> and Peter des Roches and Pandulf were fully aware of the difficulty of reconciling the authority given them by a mandate of 7th July with the concord reached at Runnymede while the mandate was on its way. But whatever argument Langton put forward, none was likely to affect the result. In the face of his persistent refusal, Peter des Roches and Pandulf suspended him, and Langton appealed to the pope.<sup>2</sup> It will be observed that I have mentioned two commissioners without the third; but, after his appearance in the letter of 5th September, the abbot of Reading drops out of the proceedings: nor was it necessary that he should take an active part, for his fellow commissioners had full power to proceed in his absence. And after they had suspended Langton, Peter des Roches and Pandulf drop out too: their function was fulfilled.

Langton's appeal was heard at Rome. It is important to note, since it is corroborative evidence that 'Mirari cogimur' was issued at John's instance, that the respondent to the appeal was the king, whose case was conducted by his proctors, Hugh, abbot of Beaulieu,<sup>3</sup> Thomas of Hardington and Geoffrey of Crowcombe. This information comes from Wendover and is doubtless correct: what is difficult to accept is the picture he gives of Langton at the trial, confused and tongue-tied, admitting guilt and begging for absolution.<sup>4</sup> The trial was swift and by

letters from St. Albans: it shows that certain of them were addressed to suffragan bishops and one to Llewellyn. These were in the hands of Henry of Cerne, a clerk of the king's chapel (*Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, i. 269).

<sup>1</sup> For these exceptions in such circumstances, see the contemporary text-book of Tancred, *Ordo Iudiciarius*, lib. ii, tit. 5, c. 1 (ed. Bergmann, p. 140).

<sup>2</sup> For this we have the evidence of the pope's confirmation of the sentence, cited below.

<sup>3</sup> This name suggests that it was difficult to get an ecclesiastic of repute to appear against Langton. Beaulieu was a Cistercian house of John's foundation, and abbot Hugh was frequently employed by the king. His questionable conduct led to his deposition but was no obstacle to his subsequent elevation to the see of Carlisle. See D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, pp. 658-659.

<sup>4</sup> Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, iii. 344-345; Wendover's words are: 'archiepiscopus, quasi convictus et non mediocriter confusus, nihil respondit, nisi quod a suspensione postulavit absolvi'. This passage and much else must, I think, be derived from the report brought by Hardington and Crowcombe to the king (*ibid.* p. 346).



4th November the pope had given his decision. On that day he informed the suffragans and people of the province of Canterbury that he had confirmed the sentence of suspension.<sup>1</sup> Before the trial, soon after his arrival at Rome towards the end of October, Langton must have heard that Innocent had annulled the greater charter. The archbishop's return to England had become, for the time being, impossible, and though his suspension seems to have been lifted shortly afterwards, he remained, or was detained, in Rome.<sup>2</sup>

'Mirari cogimur' had served the king's purpose in ridding him of Langton, but when, about the end of September, John received the bull of 24th August annulling the charter, any previous papal instrument bearing on his quarrel with the barons could be laid aside. 'Esti karissimus' was the weapon on which he now relied.<sup>3</sup> There is a grim irony in the contrast between the praises lavished by the pope's commissioners upon the charter and the denunciation of it by the pope, all unknown to them, a few days earlier, as not only base and shameful but also illegal and unjust, to the utmost diminution and derogation of the king's right and honour.<sup>4</sup> There is a grimmer irony in the re-issue of the charter in the following year, with the active approval of Cardinal Guala, the representative of the new pope, Honorius III.<sup>5</sup> In similar circumstances political fatuity has not infrequently expressed itself in like fashion, but never more convincingly. It would seem impossible that Langton, with all his reverence for papal authority, did not at length discern the levity and incapacity with which so weighty a matter had been

<sup>1</sup> Wendover, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 345; *Foedera*, i. 139. Assuming that Wendover's text is reliable, there were two mandates in identical terms of the same date, one addressed to the suffragans, and the other to the people, of the province.

<sup>2</sup> Our sole authority for the removal of Langton's suspension is Wendover (iii. 360). What he writes does not make very good sense, though the bare fact is presumably true.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN, xxviii. 430, 435, 441.

<sup>4</sup> Innocent's actual words are: 'compositionem non solum vilem et turpem, verum etiam illicitam et iniquam, in nimiam diminutionem et derogationem sui iuris pariter et honoris'.

<sup>5</sup> The charter of 12 November, 1216, is issued 'per consilium . . . domini Gualonis tituli sancti Martini presbiteri cardinalis apostolice sedis legati . . .', whose name appears first, and his seal, together with that of William Marshal, is affixed to the charter.

treated by him who, above all other popes, had aspired to be the ruler of princes. These may seem harsh words, but we can only excuse Innocent on the ground that the mistakes were the mistakes of subordinates : but though of some details the pope is not likely to have had direct knowledge, the responsibility was his and he himself would not have wished to plead ignorance of the general plan. Even when Innocent's errors had, so far as possible, been righted and the re-issue of the charter had justified the archbishop beyond all question and cavil, he was kept out of England. Rome could find a use for inflexible integrity only at appropriate seasons.

Of the further fortunes of Langton I can say nothing here, and I must leave him in the bitterness and frustration of exile. But he may serve, while he is yet in mind, as a foil to the shady adventurers who were the servants of an evil king. In a healthy reaction against the crudities of an earlier age, English historians have taken a kindlier view of Innocent III than the facts seem to warrant, and have extended their charity to his and the king's creatures and agents, for they became confounded when the pope, to serve his own ends, served those of John. I need waste no words on the lesser tools, such as the worldly abbots of Beaulieu and Reading, and will say but little more of the leaders, the Poitevin Peter des Roches and the Italian Pandulf. 'Etsi karissimus' was, it may be recalled, issued on 24th August. Reckoning back five weeks, to calculate the approximate date of John's letter that evoked the bull, we arrive at 20th July, while the council of Oxford was still sitting. At this council it became manifest that the barons were intent upon enforcing the great charter in every detail and that in this task they could count upon the mediation of the bishops as a whole, should any difficulties arise between themselves and the king.<sup>1</sup> If John and his intimates had had any expectation that the clauses of the charter most irksome to the king could be evaded, the proceedings at the council, as they unfolded, must soon have brought disillusion. We have good reason therefore to deduce that it was now that the decision was taken to ask Innocent to annul the charter altogether. Peter des Roches and Pandulf were among the

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN, xxviii. 424-425.

king's advisers at the council,<sup>1</sup> and it is beyond all probability that they were not consulted, or that Pandulf, in particular, did not give advice, on the approach to be made to the pope. When, therefore, a month later, they were about to execute the commission confided to them by 'Mirari cogimur', it cannot be supposed that they were in ignorance of the king's negotiations or of the possibility that the charter they praised might before long be swept aside. What might have surprised them, had they known, was the language in which Innocent was to condemn the charter. Well, double-dealers must make slips occasionally, and this could have no serious consequences.

If English historians have judged Innocent and these time-serving prelates too kindly, in a reaction against the beatification of the great charter they have tended also to judge the insurgent barons harshly. Of the three parties, I cannot but think that the barons emerged from the contest with more credit than the Curia, both on moral grounds and on the score of plain political sagacity. They were not particularly astute; they may have been self-seeking, though not singular in that respect; but, with all their limitations of mind and purpose, they were honest and constant, and therein lay their advantage. It is the tincture of volatile, over-reaching cleverness that makes a mockery of the cloak of piety and impartiality which Innocent and his coadjutors were in the habit of wearing when their conduct was most open to suspicion. As I have said, the pope's attitude throughout was that of a judge before whom king and barons were litigating, and if it be conceded that a man, provided he be pope, is competent to act as judge in a cause he has made his own, it is hard to question the procedural rectitude with which the contest was conducted from the side of the Curia. The procedure was as regular and as blameless as that of the trial of Joan of Arc. That it was no more intelligent was due to the blindness of Innocent to all but what he conceived to be the immediate interest of the Roman church. We must, however, wonder that a man who handled with such worldly perspicacity the matrimonial cause in

<sup>1</sup> The others were the archbishop of Dublin, William Marshal, the earls Warenne and Arundel and the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh (*Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, p. 149).



which Philip Augustus was involved, handled English politics with so little insight and did not perceive that there are political issues where any code of law is an irrelevance, just as there are legal issues which it is unwise to press to their logical conclusion. As for John, his reputation in every field of conduct is beyond redemption, though it is possible that his character may have been unnecessarily blackened by scandalous tongue and pious pen. I venture to suggest, however, that, but for Innocent's readiness to condone and support conduct in itself uncondonable and insupportable, John might well have expired, full of years and without indignity, in an odour, certainly not of sanctity, but of constitutional rectitude. His worst friend, as she had proved his most determined enemy, was the church of Rome.

## PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE CULTURE-PATTERN THEORY <sup>1</sup>

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IT is a little more than ten years since Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* appeared in America. To grasp its theory is so fascinating as an artistic experience that a reader might almost be forgiven if he resolved to rest on his mental oars for a while, and to view all problems of understanding, feeling, thinking, of ethics and æsthetics, as suitable to be postponed until the specialists concerned with these subjects had answered the question: "If the culture-pattern theory be valid, how far and in what directions are you prepared to modify your methods of investigation and the interpretations of your findings?"

In ordinary circumstances and in normal times, a John Rylands Library lecturer, having decided to speak about a subject already discussed for a decade, might have settled down to happy months of reading, correspondence and conversation with his colleagues, and to a less happy time of writing; eventually streamlining the account after his own personal predilections had been imposed upon it—for this is a lecturer's privilege. However, world events have not only given to most British psychologists tasks less pleasant than this, but have deprived them of most publications from the U.S.A. Since *Patterns of Culture* will presumably have been widely criticised in the land of its birth, the present article may seem sadly out of date to an American reader. However, through the kindness of Dr. Ethel J. Lindgren and Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn, to whom I should like to offer warm thanks, I have been able to study a number of recent American publications. Yet I cannot say if my present view is correct, that relatively few psychologists, as distinguished from ethnologists and sociologists, have indicated, appraised or

<sup>1</sup> Amplified from notes of a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, on the 14th March, 1945.

examined the psychological implications of the theory. It is occasionally quoted with approval but not criticised.

I may remind you of the concept by quoting Dr. R. H. Thouless :

"When we have described the elements of a culture, its customs, its institutions, and its dogmas, there still remains unanalysed the general principle of integration by means of which these are woven into what may be regarded as a more or less coherent 'pattern'. The motives to which men may respond and the goals towards which their behaviour may be directed are multitudinous, and every society makes use only of a certain selection of these. The particular selection of potential human purposes that any particular society employs may be said to give it its characteristic 'pattern'. Different cultures may differ both in the extent to which their activities are subordinated to a single pattern of motivation, and in the kind of pattern they have adopted."<sup>1</sup>

In the same volume Dr. Audrey I. Richards, writing about anthropologists' studies of culture-patterns, says :

"The organisation of the sentiments, interests and values of a particular group, as forming a characteristic pattern, has been mentioned as one of the key concepts of contemporary American anthropology. Such terms as the pattern, orientation, style or drive of a culture have been used to describe the influence of the prevailing values of a community upon its individual members, to explain the differential adoption and rejection of new cultural elements by groups of American tribes, and to provide the basis for broad comparisons of the temperamental characteristics and social norms of different ethnic groups."<sup>2</sup>

I hope I may be allowed to cite with comments, parts of a quotation which Dr. C. H. Waddington makes in *The Scientific Attitude*,<sup>3</sup> from Dr. Margaret Mead's *Sex and Temperament* :<sup>4</sup>

"The really innate qualities of men, the basic characteristics which society cannot change but must accept and build on, are much vaguer than anyone could have expected ; this is the finding of the anthropologists who study scientifically the societies which men have formed in different parts of the world. Obviously, one animal differs from another, as one human being from another, in fierceness or tenderness, in bravery or cunning, in richness of imagination or plodding dullness of wit. From these hints could be developed the ideas of rank and caste, or special priesthoods, of the artist, the oracle. Out of these simple clues man makes for himself a fabric of culture. Each people makes this fabric different, selects some clues and ignores others. One culture uses as a main thread the vulnerable ego, quick to take insult or perish of shame, another selects uncompromising

<sup>1</sup> In F. C. Bartlett and others, *The Study of Society*, 1939. London : Kegan Paul, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 286-287.

<sup>3</sup> Pelican Books.

<sup>4</sup> Routledge, 1935.



bravery. The Masai and Zulu societies grade all individuals by age and make this a basic point of organisation. The aborigines of Siberia dignified the nervously unstable individual into the shaman, whose utterances were believed to be supernaturally inspired and were a law to his more nervously stable fellow tribesman. A people may also, like the Ba Thonga of South Africa, honour neither old people nor children; or, like the Plains Indians, dignify the little child and the grandfather; or like the Manus and the inhabitants of parts of modern America, regard children as the most important group in society. . . . No culture has failed to seize upon the conspicuous facts of age and sex in some way, whether it be the convention of one Philippine tribe that no man can keep a secret, the Manus assumption that only men enjoy playing with babies, the Toda proscription of almost all domestic work as too sacred for women, or the Arapesh insistence that women's heads are stronger than men's. . . . We found the Arapesh—both men and women—displaying a personality that, out of our historically limited pre-occupations we could call maternal in its parental aspects, and feminine in its sexual aspects. In marked contrast to these attitudes, we found among the Mundugumor that both men and women developed as ruthless, aggressive, positively sexed individuals . . . approximated to a personality type which we in our culture would only find in an undisciplined and very violent male. In the third tribe, the Tchambuli, we found a genuine reversal of the sex-attitudes of our own culture, with the woman the dominant, impersonal, managing partner, the man the less responsible and the emotionally dependent person."

He continues :

"It might seem at first sight that it is quite obvious what the desirable qualities in a man are. It is easy to run off a list of virtues : energy, tolerance, creativeness and so on. But we usually think of these qualities within our present social framework, with all the presuppositions which that involves. When the system starts misfiring and the framework gets out of shape, it becomes less obvious which are the desirable attributes. The new systems of Germany and Russia have chosen some which we have not particularly valued ; a selfless devotion to the State in Germany and a readiness of the office-boy to offer advice on running the business in Russia."

My present purpose is not to defend this theory, but to examine and, if possible, to 'place' it psychologically. The evidence upon which it was originally based comes from distant cultures of which I have no experience. That in some sense a culture may show a main pattern, inside which others are distinguishable, would seem probable if we remember that at this moment in the U.S.A., England is officially represented by a fox-hunting High-Churchman. He is unmistakably English (the main pattern), but these two sub-patterns, which have no intrinsic connection, play little part in the lives of most English people.

To the question, "After the culture-pattern theory has been criticised by psychologists, how much will remain and in what form can it be used?" there ought to be interesting answers. In some shape, it may help to modify and reconcile certain conflicting opinions in ethnology, sociology, psychology and economics.<sup>1</sup>

Several sympathetic expositions of the theory have been made by Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn.<sup>2</sup> He appears to accept the theory in principle, and offers valuable definitions, e.g. a working concept of Culture :

"All those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behaviour of man."

This concept implies a distinction between *explicit* and *implicit* culture.<sup>3</sup> Instead of illustrations relating to American-Indian tribes, I will suggest some from our own culture-pattern.

*Explicit Culture* comprises "all features of a group design for living which might be described to an outsider by participants in the culture". It includes, besides external objects, manifestations of feeling and thought. An American visitor to Lord's, seeing a cricket match for the first time, could describe the bats and balls, gloves and pads, and such manifestations of feeling and thought as are exhibited by members of the Marylebone Cricket Club. Though the interruption of a lively innings for the tea-interval might puzzle or infuriate him, he could record that the crowd's behaviour and mood contrasted with his own.

*Implicit Culture* is "that sector of behaviour of which members of the group are unaware, or minimally aware". For 'unaware', the simpler-minded variety of behaviourist may substitute 'unverbalised'. While to many cricket spectators it

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. MALINOWSKI's preface to ASHLEY-MONTAGU's *Coming into Being Among the Australian Aborigines*. R.S. LYND, *Knowledge for What?* Humphrey Milford and Princeton University Press. "The Implications of Economic Theory for Sociology", *American Sociological Review*, 1944, IX, 14-20.

<sup>2</sup> "Patterning as exemplified in Navaho Culture", *Language, Culture and Personality*, 1941, Menasha, Wis., U.S.A., pp. 109-130. "Covert Culture and Administrative Problems", *American Anthropologist*, 1943, XLV, 213-227.

<sup>3</sup> C. KLUCKHOHN and WILLIAM H. KELLY, "The Concept of Culture", in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. by RALPH LINTON, 1944, New York, Columbia University Press.

appears unnecessary to justify the tea-interval, to some of them a justification would seem unverbalisable. So might assumptions underlying the present ways of staffing our Diplomatic Service, or of granting army commissions, two generations ago. Many games-players who understand and practise 'fair play' would find it difficult to state its principles.

Kluckhohn defines two kinds of *patterns*, distinguished from *configurations*. A *sanctioned* pattern, if described, would convey to the hearer or reader an idea of what, in a defined situation, people would do or say if they conformed completely to ideals accepted in the culture. For example, in stating an ideal English sanctioned pattern "more than three people at a bus-stop form a queue", the degree of deviation of actual instances of relevant behaviour from the ideal does not matter, but in a *behavioural* pattern, the attention is focused upon some mode of what people in fact do.

To a certain extent, each concept is dependent upon the other, as every policeman knows. Some criticism directed against Dr. Benedict's view seems based upon the premise that she is writing about behavioural patterns. It is said, for example, that she has not counted cases to establish statistical norms of behaviour, and has neglected material which does not fit her leading ideas. But Kluckhohn replies, "she is not so much interested in an inductive analysis of how the Zuni Indians, for example, do in fact behave, as in suggesting a relationship between accepted standards of behaviour in Zuni (sanctioned pattern) and cultural configurations of which the Zuni are largely unconscious". He adds "it seems unfortunate that this is not explicit in her text".

Pattern and configuration are concepts of a different order of abstraction. Here is Kluckhohn's example of pattern: 46 Navaho Indians were interviewed about witchcraft. Before giving the anecdote or the bit of cultural theory on witchcraft, 43 remarked "I don't know—I just heard about it". This is a verbal reaction-pattern. The meaning could have been, but is not, expressed by a variety of symbols arranged in a variety of ways. Pattern is "a structural regularity . . . to which there is some degree of conformance on the part of a number of persons".

Unacculturated Navaho are uniformly careful to see that no



other person obtains possession of their hair, nails or any other part or product of their body. The configuration behind this might be intellectualised as "fear of the malevolent intentions of other persons". Only most exceptionally, however, would a Navaho make this abstract generalisation; saying in effect "these are all ways of showing our anxiety about the activities of others".

A topical example might be added. An American describing on the radio, to his military compatriots arriving in England, our ideal pattern of not shouting across streets, not speaking casually to people met by chance, not always being affable to the next-door neighbour, reminded them that in parts of this country people are so tightly packed that they have developed special ways of adjustment to persons who otherwise might be continually elbowing them.

Such configurations are Sapir's 'unconscious systems of meanings' and Benedict's 'unconscious canons of choice'. Perhaps 'minimally aware' or 'unverbalised' are better descriptions than 'unconscious'.

A pattern, continues Kluckhohn, is a generalisation of behaviour or of ideals for behaviour. A configuration is a generalisation *from* behaviour. Patterns are forms; configurations are interrelations between forms. A pattern can be defined by listing its parts in a determinate sequence, and perhaps indicating the duration or accentuation of each (cf. musical notation). A configuration states the principle behind a group of patterns. Being only implicit in them, it must be inferred. Into Benedict's scheme, patterns (even sanctioned) enter less than do configurations. She comes nearer to dealing with the 'whyness' than the 'whatness' of a culture. When with the same term she designates both types of pattern and more than one type of configuration she invites confusion.

Kluckhohn's three concepts can be illustrated from our own culture. The Christian religion (Protestant and Catholic) clearly shows different behavioural and sanctioned patterns; with unmistakably distinguishable configurations. Warfare is described by Benedict as a culture-pattern which cannot even be grasped by members of some communities; for example, by many Eskimos, though to some of our contemporaries in the

scientific, literary and political world it has appeared as a wise provision of Nature, a mystical experience and an æsthetic delight. (Probably most readers can supply the references.) The present war, indeed, is not so much between nations (if so, where are we to place Italy, Spain or Turkey?) as between configurations in the minds of certain people, who have influenced millions.

The relative mildness of class-enmity in England, noted by Professor Morris Ginsberg as a national characteristic,<sup>1</sup> may be due to the fact that some of our important configurations are common to different social strata, and that others which are not, have conflicted less violently than in certain other countries.

Postponing detailed criticism, let us now mention and examine briefly some psychological implications of the culture-pattern theory. First, it shows up the drawbacks of 'psychological provincialism'. Dr. A. H. Maslow, for example,<sup>2</sup> asserts that some psychologists have tried to build up what they called a science of behaviour of the normal adult mind upon the basis of experiments confined very largely to college students in Western cultures. It might even be added, to college students of a special kind, i.e. those concerned with psychology or education, who were more easily available as 'subjects',<sup>3</sup> or to those who could afford to spend time in an activity unlikely to help them to pass examinations. Until recently, themes which might seem important to many people outside colleges even in Western cultures (often to the very persons whose work had provided some of the funds for the colleges) were called by some academic critics 'trivial' or 'popular'.<sup>4</sup> Owing to the rapid growth of interest in the "social psychology of everyday life"<sup>5</sup> and to the development of techniques such as polls of public opinion,

<sup>1</sup> "National Character", *British Journal of Psychology*, 1942, XXXII, pp. 183-204.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter XXII in ROSS STAGNER, *Problems of Personality*, McGraw Hill Book Co.

<sup>3</sup> The experiments upon thinking carried out by the WURZBURG School and JOHN B. WATSON respectively illustrate this. Cf. J. C. FLÜGEL, *A Hundred Years of Psychology* (Duckworth).

<sup>4</sup> T. H. PEAR, "The 'Trivial' and 'Popular' in Psychology", *British Journal of Psychology*, XXXI, 1940, 115-128.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. HADLEY CANTRIL, *Psychological Bulletin*, 1934, XXXI, 5, 297-330.

participant observation and mass observation, and the study of the social problems of warfare (not yet of peace) recent psychology has become less provincial. There has been too little time for textbooks to follow suit. It may be a pathetic or tragic comment upon the present state of things that, about 1934, a German colleague mentioned to me that textbooks of psychology written in America, England, France, Germany or Japan had almost identical chapter headings. A 'natural' answer then might have been "Why not, since the human mind everywhere is fundamentally similar?" The exponents of the culture-pattern theory have re-examined the meaning of this famous phrase, with interesting results.

The last half-century has seen the rise of different systems of 'schools' of psychology; a fact interpreted differently by different critics. Some assert that this is evidence of the youthful activity of the subject; others make the gloomy charge that with so many differences, psychologists will never get anywhere. Yet as I write, "Human Nature and the Peace", an agreed memorandum signed by 2038 American psychologists has been published on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>1</sup>

I would like to suggest that differences between certain systems of psychology appearing in the past fifty years, are in part due to differing culture-pattern.

In William James's books upon psychology, and in his letters,<sup>2</sup> the most sympathetic critic can note his preoccupation with the individual, and his almost complete lack of mental contact with what to-day might now be called the main issues of social psychology, his apparently unquestioning acceptance of social stratification, even of colour prejudice, and his one-sided (purely æsthetic) interest in speaking. It is perhaps unsafe to regard novels as evidence, yet this becomes less puzzling to an Englishman if he reads John Marquand's, with its pictures of Boston society<sup>3</sup> a generation ago.

In William McDougall's writings, the family and the nation

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted in correspondence columns of the *Manchester Guardian*, 26th April, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> *The Letters of William James*, edited by Henry James. Macmillan.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The Late George Apley*.



bulk large ; there are, I believe, few references to poor people or to the problems of social strata. Was he not called by an American critic of his *Character and the Conduct of Life* <sup>1</sup> 'the last of the Great Victorians' ? Yet in his later years McDougall saw problems of culture-pattern appearing above the horizon. His *World Chaos* <sup>2</sup> was probably the first psychologist's warning of the immediate danger of our 'top-heavy', 'lop-sided' civilisation, worshipping the physical sciences almost to the exclusion of the study of human behaviour. He also called attention to the psychological nature of some 'economic' problems, e.g. the nature of 'confidence' or, as might be said nowadays, the sense of security, and how to implant and maintain it in the community.<sup>3</sup>

Using as evidence John B. Watson's writings, including his autobiography,<sup>4</sup> one might ask how far his leaning towards behaviourism was due not only to his individual make-up, his vivid kinæsthetic and weak visual imagery, but to his early struggles (he records jealousy felt towards success in others), his continual lack of money, combined with a powerful will to earn it. Would not his social milieu tend to force the belief that if only he had had appropriate conditioning, he, or almost anyone else, could have been a leading figure in most vocations ?

It would be interesting to trace the similarities and significant differences between the various modifications of the Central European culture-pattern in which Freud, Jung and Adler respectively lived and worked. Writers like Christopher Caudwell,<sup>5</sup> Erich Fromm<sup>6</sup> and Karen Horney<sup>7</sup> have elaborated this theme. The 'patriarchal' middle-class family of nineteenth-century Vienna, reflected in so much of Freud's work, is essentially foreign to many English-speaking people, and especially to Americans. In the U.S.A., parents expect, even encourage

<sup>1</sup> Methuen.

<sup>2</sup> 1932. Kegan Paul (LUDWIG MOND lecture, University of Manchester, delivered in May, 1931).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Psychology in Autobiography* (ed. C. MURCHISON), III, 271-282. Humphrey Milford.

<sup>5</sup> *Studies in a Dying Culture*.

<sup>6</sup> *The Fear of Freedom*. Kegan Paul.

<sup>7</sup> *New Ways in Psychoanalysis: The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*. Kegan Paul.

their children to outdo them, to gain success which they were unable to achieve, to seek entirely new lines of endeavour different from those followed by the parent, whom they will naturally regard as in many ways almost inferior to themselves, especially in the extremely important matter of language. (It is never easy to dominate someone who habitually smiles at and 'corrects' your speech, to say nothing of your social techniques.)

Freud's hypothesis of the 'Oedipus complex' encountered scepticism from non-Jewish psychologists, many of whom had gratefully accepted many of his brilliant suggestions; especially those concerned with dreams and hysteria. For in many families in England and the U.S.A., the mother disciplines the child; the father is the breadwinner, whose actual relationship to the children (behaviour-pattern, distinct from sanctioned pattern) is a matter of chance; of times of leisure and play and of the nature of his work. Soon, too, anthropologists reminded us that in some societies the mother's brother is more important to the child than the actual father. In her brilliant *Coming of Age in Samoa*<sup>1</sup> and *Growing up in New Guinea*<sup>2</sup> Margaret Mead richly illustrated the fact that in communities existing to-day, the most fantastic parent-child relationships, as they may seem to us, may be regarded as natural and insisted upon as the norm.

Though the reminder may be greeted by some psychoanalysts with reproachful looks, it is scientifically fair to mention that nobody analysed Freud. Moreover, as the pupils or colleagues who seceded from Freud developed their own idiosyncrasies, one could not fail to notice that Jung, living among rich people in a wealthy city, tended in his later writings to favour views which at times suggest dinner-jacketed fascism.<sup>3</sup> In contrast, Adler often appeared to sympathise with the under-dog.<sup>4</sup>

In *The Impulse to Dominate*<sup>5</sup> D. W. Harding points out (p. 204) that, according to Freudian doctrine, central coercion is the only possible method of securing a peaceful world order.

<sup>1</sup> Pelican Series.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> C. G. JUNG, *The Integration of the Personality*. Kegan Paul.

<sup>4</sup> PHYLLIS BOTTOME, *Alfred Adler*.

<sup>5</sup> London, Allen & Unwin, pp. 204-205.

Yet Suttie, who put the case against this, takes the view that Freud's mind never emerged from the extremely patriarchal mould in which it was formed, and that this has in many respects produced distortions in his doctrine.

Harding continues (p. 205) :

Much present-day sociological and political thinking is framed almost entirely in terms of domination. Its stress falls on social *élites*, the direction of the masses by propaganda, shifts of power within social groups, and the alignment of individuals and classes with the forces operating in social process ; such thinking is cast rigidly in the mould of domination and submission.

A psychologist whose views would have been better known in England had it not been for the war, is Professor Gordon W. Allport. In *Personality, A Psychological Interpretation*,<sup>1</sup> he has put forward at length views which can only be hinted at here, but are outlined in my Rylands lecture "Are There Human Instincts ?" <sup>2</sup> Allport believes innate human tendencies to be much more plastic than either McDougall or Freud would have supposed, and capable of being moulded under the pressure of society in an infinite number of directions, so that one may speak of the 'transformation' of motives. Moreover, when a method, however complicated, of satisfying one or more human desires, has succeeded, and consequently has been repeated, it tends to acquire a strangle-hold in its own right ; the activity becomes 'functionally autonomous'. A man may work hard, first to earn money for himself, then to support a wife and family. By the time he reaches retiring age, though these aims may be much less urgent or even non-existent, the activities involved in what he might still call "earning his living" may not only be difficult to discontinue but may constitute his only design for living. After all wars, some people find the ways of civilian life extremely difficult to resume. The powerful functional autonomy in the professional lives of certain scientific researchers may cause them to refer their activities to an 'instinct' of curiosity, believed to be fundamental, and perhaps privileged over other instincts.

Allport's views are clearly compatible with a culture-pattern theory.

<sup>1</sup> Constable.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 27, 1942.



Such considerations once more raise the ancient question of the nature of "Human Nature". It would appear that most modern thinkers about human conduct (some historians seem an exception) lay stress upon their belief in the plasticity of human nature. Dr. Margaret Mead has asked whether human nature is ever, in some sense, elastic. After being stretched, does it tend to revert towards some earlier condition? Possibly the images of plastic and elastic substances may be too attractive, and the facts too complex to be squeezed into such simple illustrations. Her challenging speculation is mentioned here, in fairness.

Obviously, personality depends greatly upon culture-patterns; a theme developed fascinatingly by Maslow<sup>1</sup> and C. Kluckhohn and O. H. Mowrer.<sup>2</sup> And since it seems difficult to disembarass ourselves of the two views of Personality, one developed from the standpoint of the 'actor' the other from that of the 'reactor', a study of culture-pattern makes clearer than ever that an estimation of personality may cast more light upon the assessor than upon the person judged.<sup>3</sup> In *With Malice Towards Some*,<sup>4</sup> Margaret Halsey's views of our nation annoyed some English and delighted many, but both kinds of reader probably formed an opinion of the author's own personality. Again, some Britons, after reading Margaret Mead's *The American Character*,<sup>5</sup> may have regretted that people "like us" should also be so unnecessarily, wantonly, infuriatingly unlike!

In these days of highly technical, calculated propaganda, 'build-ups', public relations officers, press-agents and censorship, the effect upon a culture of a single personality like Churchill, Roosevelt or Stalin is probably greater than may appear at first sight. After nearly six years of war, how many English even remember that our Prime Minister is half American by birth?

The difference between biological adaptation and adjustment to society is, Maslow maintains, clearly brought by this theory.

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> "Culture and Personality; a Conceptual Scheme", *American Anthropologist*, N.S. 46, Jan.-Mar., 1944.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. T. H. PEAR, *Voice and Personality* (Chapman & Hall), and *The Psychology of Effective Speaking* (Kegan Paul).

<sup>4</sup> Hamish Hamilton, Simon and Schuster.

<sup>5</sup> Pelican Series.

Animals which perpetually hunt food and fight other animals are obviously adjusting to the forces of nature. But man, as the majority of us know him, for most of his time is adjusting to the total of social forces called culture. Indeed, for many persons, cultural purposes may become more important than biological forces, even than self-preservation. So in a complex civilisation like ours, with sub-groups and sub-cultures, a man may have satisfactorily adjusted himself to a sub-group (e.g. a coterie or a gang) yet be completely at variance with the aims and ideals of the larger groupings of the culture.

A well-adjusted person has taken the goals, the purposes, ideals and norms of the culture and made them his own, not only as far as external behaviour is concerned, but also to the extent of inner belief and conviction. He will think of these purposes and ideals as 'natural', true, desirable and good for others as well as himself. Having 'introjected' the social norms of his group he can behave 'rightly', without policemen to make him do so. Yet if he enlists in the army, he will have to introject many new norms and extroject some old ones, perhaps even with the initial help of the military police.

Such a thought leads naturally to speculation concerning the light which the theory may throw upon the nature of the modern psychiatrist's functions (*a*) in peace and war respectively, (*b*) as an individual worker or a public employee. For in different circumstances he may find himself serving various sub-groups inside the major group which may itself have modified its pattern, temporarily or permanently.

Many of the following remarks will apply to all forms of psychotherapy, some to relatively few; Benedict, Horney and Fromm have indicated the fruitfulness of applying the culture-pattern theory when considering the development of psychoanalysis. Presumably the systems of Janet, Déjérine and Coué in some ways reflected their culture-patterns. (In fairness, we remember that psychiatrists differ from, and with, each other.)

To ask "What are a modern psychiatrist's functions?" raises implications of culture-pattern, since to-day in England we have first to inquire "Is he in the Forces?" If so, he must keep the oath of Aesculapius and that of loyalty to his King and

country. Therefore, presumably, expert psychiatrists in the German army have been actuated by some sentiments, ideals and purposes unlike ours. It seems possible, for example, that they might not have concurred in certain English diagnoses of Hitler's mental condition made *in absentia* at 600 miles' range and in reference to a culture-pattern to which he was never expected to adjust.

Presumably, where a psychosis (e.g. general paralysis) due to material causes has afflicted a patient, the culture-pattern of the psychiatrist diagnosing it will affect his outlook minimally. But what if the disability is partly, or entirely, functional in nature? We are unlikely to forget the attitude of some Nazi medical men towards mental deviations which they regarded not only as incurable but also as socially undesirable. How far was this dictated by politicians? In different ages too, epilepsy and hysteria have been viewed very differently.

Do the psychiatric diagnoses of Hitler take into account that the Dobus of North-West Melanesia described by Benedict may be rather like him; paranoid, aggressive, believing that others are against them, and behaving accordingly? Even Hitler's shouting on the radio has been regarded by some as pathological. Yet perhaps German public speakers habitually emitted tones louder than are customary here. I remember being introduced to a relatively small audience by a chairman who seemed to bellow at them in formal German, although a moment before he had been chatting in English. And the Englishman's habit of addressing audiences quietly, often unclearly or inaudibly, and apparently (though not always) without preparation has occasionally been resented outside, and even inside, this country, as suggesting that the occasion had not been taken seriously enough.

Perhaps the suffix 'oid' in 'paranoid', 'hysteroid' and 'schizophrenoid' (a term used in this war) is a reminder that in another culture-pattern the disorder might be regarded as more (or less) serious. If a Joan of Arc were to appear in our Army to-day what would be the diagnosis, prognosis and treatment prescribed? And would there be differences of psychiatric opinion?

Possibly some psychotics are so completely out of touch with



reality that their disorders would be regarded as serious in any community. Maslow cites the later stages of paresis, stuporous melancholia and catatonia. Yet he writes "many groups accept as normal and even desirable, phenomena which 'we' should call delusions, hallucinations, hysterical and neurotic behaviour". Presumably, if one of the world's most sensitive violinists were recruited for the army and could not be trained in commando-technique without setting up serious mental conflicts he would not necessarily be regarded as psychoneurotic.

Many related questions suggest themselves. To what extent does the psychiatrist's own 'conditioning', social, economic, religious, moral, political, affect his attitude towards a psychoneurotic? How far may the Freudian or the Roman Catholic systems of belief affect his attitude towards, and estimation of, mental health in general? What happens if these two systems conflict in his own mind?

To what extent does the psychiatrist's attitude towards the social system in which he is living, in war and peace respectively, affect his advice to patients? If (to quote an actual case) a fighting pilot with relatively long experience suddenly began to fly carefully (this change of behaviour dating from his marriage), what would the psychiatrist to whom a disapproving superior officer was anxious to refer him, say to the 'patient'? Would only psychoneurotic conflicts be looked for? Yet in this instance, what would be regarded as non-neurotic behaviour, by the R.A.F. and the wife respectively? In peace time, would the same psychiatrist, if requested by the committee of the local Rock and Fell club, persuade a newly-married man to 'rock-climb', as distinct from ascending a mountain, recklessly? How far does the psychiatrist in the fighting forces accept the 'ethos' of the officers' mess (consisting of combatants), and to what extent, especially if he is young, may deference to this affect his psychiatric judgement? One army psychiatrist described a mess, composed entirely of psychiatrists, as 'different'. I think I was meant to infer that their occasional deviation of behaviour from that characterising combatant officers was deliberately chosen and instituted.

The psychiatrist differs from the psychologist, and, too, from

other doctors, in that he may be responsible for the details of a patient's whole life. This arrangement is carried out within a definite 'frame', economic, social, religious, as can be seen by comparing the modern private, expensive mental hospital with the 'pauper lunatic asylum' of fifty years ago or with London's 'Bedlam' and Vienna's Narrenturm. He may be compelled for a short or a long term to interfere with the liberty of the subject, e.g. by certification. In war, his powers may be more extensive. The psychiatrist can be consulted concerning the admission of the recruit to the Forces, the branch to which he is to be assigned, details of his training and discipline, including possible punishment, and if he is mildly neurotic, his retention in the army, or his discharge to civil life and the part he shall play there.

Now in the older sense of the word, some of the functions just described are not psychiatric, i.e. they are not doctoring the mind, though their effects may come into the sphere of preventive medicine. Some army psychiatrists devise or employ 'test-situations' to estimate the 'aggressiveness' of the potential officer. Yet very different patterns of behaviour are called 'aggressive', especially perhaps by writers whose native language is not English, and further clarifications of this concept, and of 'transformed aggressiveness', seem urgently needed. Some actions expected of a soldier in war would not only be discouraged but punished by society if performed in peace-time. Where and when will the aggressiveness of the successful commando-member be satisfied if on demobilisation he becomes a bank-clerk? Perhaps in many instances it will disappear gradually, or even suddenly. So far this seems largely a subject for speculation, but if the aggressiveness continues, and, as a result of intra-psychic conflict, he becomes psychoneurotic, a psychiatrist may have to try to mould him into the new post-war culture-pattern. This might necessitate some rehabilitation of the demobilised psychiatrist. The culture-pattern theory may be useful in understanding not only the psychiatrists but also their employers, whether they be the community or private individuals.

To what extent are the psychiatrist's every-day functions a skilful fitting of the patient into the culture-pattern in which he

is expected (usually by others) to live without friction? What, in the absence of evidence from somatic pathology, is the basis of the decisions? A philosophy, a general view of the world, a religion? How far are all these coloured by economic factors? Certain types of religion, and certain political views concerning the desirable function of the medical practitioner, produce opinions favourable towards or antagonistic to the existence of rich people. Some forms of atheism or agnosticism as well as of religion are bound up with hatred of unnecessary poverty, or with a sense of personal frustration. Inferiority feelings—to say nothing of inferiority-complexes—are sometimes compensated by a simple egalitarian view of life. Conversely, a belief in the value of social stratification may encourage the view that what the Forces do, if ordered by the Higher Command, is right, since “there is a war on”.

It has been said that recent army experience has made many doctors chary of assuming a hard and fast distinction between psychoneuroses and psychoses. This brings us back to the anthropologist's question,<sup>1</sup> “Are psychoses merely culturally defined?” Do they present only problems in social pathology, or are they constant all over the world? Are certain types of genuine psychotics, in some communities, culturally protected? Buddhism prizes the schizoid personality. Does it protect and conceal the real schizophrenic who unconsciously denies reality, because his culture-pattern permits its conscious denial in ascetic practices? Does ritual not only enact but also discharge social tensions? The Pueblo Indian, the orthodox Roman Catholic and Jew live a heavily ritualised life; does this, by many cultural acts comparable to those devised in compulsion-neuroses, drain off anxieties and thereby produce a sense of safety and security? Will studies of populations, now crumbling under the impact of European civilisation, illuminate such trends?

Anthropologists appear to be agreed in substance upon the following points of interest to the future of psychiatry: <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. KLUCKHOHN, chapter on “Influence of Psychiatry on Anthropology during the past 100 years”, in *One Hundred Years of American Psychiatry*, ed. by J. K. HALL, G. ZILBOORG and H. A. BUNKER (pp. 489-618), 1944. New York, Columbia University Press.

<sup>2</sup> KLUCKHOHN (see reference above).



1. Primitive societies cannot be lumped together.
2. It is wrong to equate 'primitive' with 'childlike' or archaic.
3. The anecdotal approach is worthless. Ethnological data must be used in their context, historical and situational.
4. Cultures are organised wholes, therefore data must not be torn from their configurational context.
5. Theories based upon anthropology must start from premises granted by anthropologists. The hypothesis of the 'racial unconscious', for example, is based upon no evidence admissible in the court of science.

We may now inquire, "Is the present domination of our lives by scientific invention the result of the rapid rise to power of a pattern of motivation, preferred to other possible patterns?"

From many sides we hear of the urgent necessity that 'society', or people in general, should adopt a scientific (or a more scientific) attitude towards life. This attitude has been described in detail by Waddington<sup>1</sup> and A. D. Ritchie,<sup>2</sup> though perhaps it is differently interpreted in different quarters.<sup>3, 4</sup> To urge that it should be adopted towards more problems by more people may be actuated by different aims; to increase man's understanding of Nature and his control over it. At present the average citizen needs no reminder that applications of science are important. Yet at the birth of the British Association for the Advancement of Science this was an aim of its founders. The wealthy manufacturer was an important target at which 'publicity' (as it might nowadays inelegantly be called) was directed.

In one sense, most educated people are aware that the scientific attitude is important. Yet from the more serious type of journalist we repeatedly hear how sparsely, one-sidedly, and badly science is expounded in the average newspaper. Moreover, Mass Observation<sup>5</sup> has claimed that the views of the man-in-the-street concerning the importance of science are extremely vague, and there is little enthusiasm about clarifying them. For years

<sup>1</sup> *The Scientific Attitude*, Pelican Series.

<sup>2</sup> *Civilisation, Science and Religion*, Pelican Series.

<sup>3</sup> C. C. PRATT, *The Logic of Modern Psychology*. Macmillan.

<sup>4</sup> J. MACMURRAY, *The Boundaries of Science*. Faber.

<sup>5</sup> *Britain by Mass Observation*, 1939. Penguin Series, 7-22.

the Workers' Educational Association have deplored the small demand for classes in physical science. It is therefore proper for a social psychologist to observe that form of behaviour which consists in propaganda (I use the term in its original sense) for Science. This manner of statement is not always simple, for different views exist concerning the meaning of 'science'. Are we to fall back upon etymology, and insist that whatever Science is, it is a form of knowledge, that Science cannot be an actual force, a collection of men, or an instrument such as a laboratory or an institution like the Royal Society? It seems most satisfactory to do this, as it stops up several emergency exits for nervous apologists. If I may quote from an earlier Rylands lecture : <sup>1</sup>

Some important functions of the scientist are to discover facts, to depict or describe them in ways which will allow many to make their acquaintance, and to abstract their meanings ; further, by relating the facts to each other, to facilitate their better understanding ; thus to discover, even to predict, new facts ; and finally to fit this new knowledge into the general pattern of philosophy.

The assumption, save in unusual instances, of a sharp division between pure scientists, who work with no idea of the ways in which their activities will be put to use, and applied scientists, beings with a different ethical code, is too naïve to delude a social psychologist.

Writers like J. Macmurray <sup>2</sup> and W. Köhler <sup>3</sup> have thrown much light upon the difficult question of the relation between physics and psychology. Macmurray holds that the natural development of knowledge was, and in any event would have been from physics to physiology to psychology, since this is the order of their difficulty. To say this does not mean, of course, that to develop these different sciences necessarily needs intelligences of increasing keenness. The difficulties in a scientist's path are 'outer' and 'inner' conditions. Outer conditions reside in the physical world ; inner conditions in the mind of the researcher or of important members of the community who encourage and support or discourage, frustrate, or even persecute him for his activities. These difficulties increase as we pass

<sup>1</sup> T. H. Pear, *The Place of Imagery in Mental Processes*, Manchester University Press, and *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. 21, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> J. MACMURRAY, *The Boundaries of Science*. Faber.

<sup>3</sup> *Gestalt Psychology*. New York, HORACE LIVERIGHT.

from the study of inanimate matter through that of the living body to that of the mind or of the behaviour correlated with some of its activities.

There is always a tendency to reify, supplemented recently in some quarters by a temptation to deify, the knowledge of inanimate matter as 'Science'. It is more convenient and sometimes more discreet to speak vaguely of 'Science' than to describe and discuss the implications of the specific activities of named, living scientists. Occasionally this saves a certain amount of embarrassment, like attributing manslaughter by a drunken motorist to Alcohol. Yet nevertheless there has been greater clarity in labelling, as can be seen if we compare numerous articles on "The Freedom of Science" with the title "Should Scientists be Public Servants?" of a broadcast debate between J. B. S. Haldane and Bertrand Russell (*The Listener*, Vol. 33, No. 882, 10th May, 1945, pp. 516 ff.). Here the discussion turned upon their behaviour.

When tracing this change of culture-pattern it is important to remember that in the last two generations, scientists in all countries have become almost entirely professionalised. The day of a Cavendish or a Charles Darwin has gone, perhaps never to return. Apart from the heavy cost of living and the certainty of higher taxation in the future, scientific experiment will be so expensive that few amateurs could afford it. Moreover, team work is increasing. One reason for the heavy financial support of the physical scientists is that ultimately they deliver the goods. Since 1939 these have been mostly lethal in character. Attempts to distract public attention from this fact by changing the key—praising the advance of medical science during this war is often successful—yet until peace comes, many of the discoveries, e.g. penicillin, are unavailable to the civilian. Moreover, against the lives saved by medical science in this war must be put the millions of deaths and maimings of soldiers and civilians in enemy as well as in allied countries, made possible by scientific means. As a result, and remembering that enemies in one war may be or are often, especially of late, allies in the next, many scientists by now are disgusted with the social irresponsibility shown by many of their colleagues and the alleged



ethical neutrality of others. Before 1939 there was a general tendency among scientists (with some striking exceptions) to dissociate themselves from any consideration with ethical values, except in so far as these were fixed for them by their Government. In peace-time, they were quite content to prepare for war (on advisory committees) and in war-time to wage it. 'Keeping out of politics' (a phrase often heard in laboratories) obscured the fact that for scientific knowledge to be implemented on any large scale requires the backing of the political party in power. 'Getting on with the job' was often the result of a resolve not to inquire too closely where the results of the job might lead. In the wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 most scientists, if invited, lined up behind their country's flag as soon as war began. This seems to be, and was, natural, yet it is disturbing to reflect that some of our scientific friends in this war were our enemies in the last, and *vice versa*. What if there were to be another war? Will the end of the present one see a flight of most scientists back to 'pure science', yet delighted at any moment to help to destroy any other nation, whatever its ideals and whatever its present affiliations, if the Government in power tells them to? Or will they develop a rudimentary ethics, as scientists? If so, along what lines?

Recently, there have been several signs that scientists are growing up, yet it is fair to record that some British scientists became shocked at the trend of events on the Continent only when Hitler began to illtreat scientists. The spectacle of such detachment (or sophistication) has seriously disturbed many scientists, as well as thinkers in other fields. Enlightened minds might be angry at my calling attention to a leading article, "More Science", in *The Listener* (1st February, 1945, Vol. 33, No. 838, p. 120). But presumably it was not meant for them. So long as the spokesmen for 'Science', on the radio or in the newspapers, present to the public the idea of physical science, implying either overtly or covertly that this is the only kind, people cannot be prevented from asking whether the splitting of the atom, lofty thoughts about relativity or the quantum theory are any consolation for the fact that scientists (not the goddess 'Science') in peace-time can put their abominable inventions at the disposal

of any common gangster, whatever country he may live in. Translating *The Listener* editorial into psychological rather than the semi-theological terms it employs, we get this indictment: By giving more power to their fellow-men (and occasionally to themselves) than they can use properly, scientists and their organisations have contributed to the world tragedy. Many scientists show no sense of responsibility commensurate with the Promethean arrogance of their claims. There are face-saving attempts to put the blame for the present mess on 'politics'; something of which the innocent public is asked to believe the scientist is quite innocent. Can there be hope of progress as long as so few scientists can be brought to admit that there are more important things in life than science?

A vast problem, which can only be hinted at here, is that of the significance of the culture-pattern for ethical theory. It is obviously necessary to make clear the ways in which the concepts of 'sentiment' and 'concept' respectively are to be used. The relation of the sentiment and the complex to psychological concepts used in the consideration of ethical questions has not received the attention it deserves.<sup>1</sup> If, however, the criteria chosen to distinguish sentiment from complex are partly determined by the culture-pattern of the discriminator (for if repression be taken as the *sine quâ non* of a 'complex', Freud would lay stress upon the cultural repressive forces, as in *Civilisation and its Discontents*), it would seem that the ethical aspects of the culture-pattern theory ought by now to have been seriously considered in detail; as indeed they may have been in the U.S.A. Publications accessible to me at present are Dr. Gregory Bateson's *Naven*<sup>2</sup> and Dr. S. F. Nadel's article,<sup>3</sup> in which he criticises some of Dr. Bateson's views. As, however, in the epilogue to his book Dr. Bateson has made clear that they were

<sup>1</sup> The question has been discussed by J. A. HADFIELD, *Psychology and Morals*, Methuen. R. B. CATTELL, "Sentiment or Attitude?" *Character and Personality*, 1940, IX. T. H. PEAR, "The Relations of Complex and Sentiment", *British Journal of Psychology*, Vol. XIII, 1922, pp. 130-140.

<sup>2</sup> *Naven, a Survey of the Problems Suggested by a Composite Picture of the Culture of a New Guinea Tribe, drawn from three points of view*. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>3</sup> "The Typological Approach to Culture", *Character and Personality*, V, 1937, pp. 267-284.

in process of being transformed, it is impossible here to do more than refer to some thought-provoking ideas.

Bateson writes (pp. 113, 114, 115) :

" . . . When we attribute a system of thought or a scale of values to a culture, we must mean that the culture in some way affects the psychology of the individuals, causing whole groups of individuals to think and feel alike.

" There are two ways in which culture might do this, either by education, inducing and promoting certain types of psychological progress, or by selection, favouring those individuals who have an innate tendency to psychological processes of a certain kind. In the present state of our knowledge of genetics, we cannot pretend to estimate the relative importance of these two methods of changing the psychology of a population. We can only suppose that both the method of selection and the method of education are at work in every community. For convenience, I shall dodge the issue of choosing between the two hypotheses by using a non-committal term which shall subsume them both. Following Dr. Benedict, I shall speak of culture as standardising the psychology of the individuals."

and (p. 118) :

" The time is not yet ripe for any detailed analysis of the possible standardising effects which culture may have upon the individuals in the community, but we may say at once that culture will affect their scale of values. It will affect the manner in which their instincts and emotions are organised into sentiments to respond differentially to the various stimuli of life ; we may find, for example, that in one culture physical pain, hunger, poverty and asceticism are associated with a heightening of pride, while in another, pride is associated with the possession of property, and in another again, pride may even be gratified by public ridicule. . . .

" We must therefore rephrase the psychological theories in some such terms as these : A human being is born into the world with potentialities and tendencies which may be developed in very various directions, and it may well be that different individuals have different potentialities. The culture into which an individual is born stresses certain of his potentialities and suppresses others, and it acts selectively, favouring the individuals who are best endowed with the potentialities preferred in the culture and discriminating against those with alien tendencies. In this way the culture standardises the organisation of the emotions of individuals.

" The orthodox ' functional ' school has adopted the practice of dividing cultures into institutions. But since the same institution is liable to have the most various functions in different societies, the final verification of the theories is impossible. If we take the institution of marriage we find that it may function variously in the determination of status of offspring, in the regulation of sex life, in the education of offspring, in the regulation of economic life, etc. ; and we find that the relative importance of these functions in different cultures varies so widely that it is almost impossible to verify by comparative methods the truth of any statement which we may make about marriage in any one culture. . . .



"The ethnological approach involves a very different system of sub-division of culture. Its thesis is that we may abstract from a culture a certain systematic aspect called *ethos*, which we may define as the expression of a *culturally standardised system of organisation of the instincts and emotions of the individuals*."

This point of view has been disapproved by Nadel, who also criticises Benedict's system in these terms (pp. 271, 272) :

"With this thesis the iconoclastic interpretation of culture in terms of patterns and configurations reaches its climax. The rest of the book is devoted to the elaboration of the theoretical and practical results which such a theory entails. In a sociological system which denies the significance of institutions *qua* institutions, the whole concept of social value must change its meaning. It cannot be derived from usefulness or standards of social benefit of any kind ; a wasteful economic institution, a generally 'unfortunate' and 'ill-adjusted' social life, are still of social value in so far as they express the fundamental trend of the culture. We arrive at a sophistic relativity of culture which, juggling with values and social meanings, turns the heroes of one culture into fools in another, ideals here into failures there. The individual is only a plaything of fate ; born into a society which fixes desirable and undesirable forms of behaviour, which glorifies or stigmatizes types of conduct, he is either true to type or else a 'misfit' branded by the *non licet* of society and pushed on to the path to unhappiness, neurosis, or crime. . . .

"Yet somehow absolute standards of social values, standards, that is, which free themselves from the pattern-bound relativity of culture, must be possible. For in one place in Dr. Benedict's book we find the argument that a culture may have to pay 'too high a price' for the social values which it selected (Benedict, p. 248) ; that the living-up to the standards set by the 'pattern' may involve a risk too dangerous for any social order to incur with impunity. This means bringing 'absolute' social values in by the back door. . . ."

This was written in 1937. At that time, in one type of culture—and not only in that one—Mussolini, Hitler and Goering were regarded as heroes by some, fools by others, knaves and worse, by still more. At the time of the Crucifixion, were the teachings of Christ regarded as ideals, failures or both ? Will not present attempts, in all countries, to change from a war-time to a peace-time set-up appear like extensive sudden modifications of culture-pattern ?

As a psychologist I must leave to others the question of absolute values, and of whether their "being brought in by the back door" matters much. The ethical is at least as important as the sociological and psychological implications of the culture-pattern theory. But it may have helped to state some psychological problems.

## THE GRAFTON PORTRAIT.

By J. ERNEST JARRATT.

‘THE so-called Grafton Portrait of Shakespeare now in the possession of the John Rylands Library, Manchester’, is the designation used by the Library and a reproduction of it appeared as a frontispiece to Volume 17 of their BULLETIN.

Volume 2 of the BULLETIN, which recorded in 1914-15 that the Portrait had been bequeathed to the Library, referred to it “as the portrait of a young man which without reasonable evidence had been described as the Grafton Portrait of Shakespeare” and made it clear that its authenticity was in doubt and was not vouched for, but that it ought to be preserved in some public institution to be accessible to experts and others interested in the subject.

Dr. Guppy’s advice to the Governors to accept the custody and preservation of a genuine contemporary portrait of a young man of exactly the age of the Poet and inscribed with the date 1588 and with the initials ‘W.S.’ was properly cautious and eminently wise, and these Notes may indicate that Time tends to justify the decision.

Mr. Thomas Kay’s sketchy history of the Portrait (1914) is not an adequate record to sustain the claim made for it, but does present a preliminary case which qualified experts might now usefully investigate and expand. It lacked any clear link with the known history of Shakespeare. But it is conversely true that there are missing links in the history of the Poet’s life—particularly in its early cultural background—and that if the Portrait could be traced to support the claim made for it, it would in turn be a useful clue for further investigations into the missing years of the Poet’s life.

The passion to know more of what manner of man Shakespeare was, and more of his life, does not diminish, and Dr. Dover Wilson was immediately interested in the Portrait, used it as a frontispiece to *The Essential Shakespeare* and confessed that

the temptation to claim it as a genuine portrait of Shakespeare was almost irresistible and grows stronger.

He refers to this unknown youth of the wonderful eyes and the oval Shelley-like face who was an exact contemporary, and also to the great forehead and other striking coincidences compared with the Droeshout engraving, and quoted the opinion of another Shakespearean scholar, Dr. John Smart, who found in it his own idea of the youthful Shakespeare.

Such opinions, however interesting, do not answer the three questions as to whether the Portrait is a genuine contemporary portrait of some young man in 1588: whether the inscription on it is genuine: and thirdly, whether it can be identified with Shakespeare.

Mr. M. H. Spielman in the *Connoisseur* 1909, after referring to the history of the picture, does discuss those three questions. On the first he expressed his expert opinion that "it is a genuine old portrait in the dry manner of the period, smoothly painted and without clearly defined shadows".

With regard to the inscription, he said that "the raised lettering, which is the hall-mark of several exploded Shakespearean pictures, in itself raises an element of doubt, but in this case I believe it to be genuine enough."

But as to its identification with the Poet, he positively rejected the claim. He very carefully and expressly stated his reasons which conform with the traditional views which were so prevalent thirty-five years ago as to what was Shakespeare's position at the time: a servile position in the playhouse: likely enough not yet risen above the situation of a call boy: an obscure youth: unknown till 1592: incredible that he should have been so honoured by any painter of ability.

Without undervaluing the opinion of so eminent a critic as to what the picture revealed to him, and of its artistic merits and intrinsic truth, it seems permissible, and now necessary, carefully to reconsider his reasons and to examine whether he has not assumed and laid down a faulty foundation for his decision as to the possible relation of the Portrait to the Poet.

The writer of these Notes, who makes no pretension to Shakespearean scholarship, has during the past four years been



led by various impulses, personal and local, to stray through many byeways connected with Elizabethan times and the Shakespearean tangle, and though this is not the place to record his peregrinations and browsings, he does venture to outline some concise observations which seem pertinent to the dispute about the Grafton Portrait.

The prevailing views expressed by modern scholars appear to be that the Poet did not pass his youthful years in the manner conjectured by Mr. Spielman : although they differ widely as to the solution of that problem.

A Lancastrian solution has never been adequately explored although there are several distinct pointers in that direction.

There are many scattered but un-co-ordinated references in the literature to the Poet's possible relation with the Earl of Leicester's Men and Lord Strange's Men, but careful exploration of the existing data indicate that the Poet's association with Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange was no passing incident in his career.

The Earl of Leicester's Men visited the Earl of Derby in Lancashire in 1587 and Lord Strange's Men were merged with the Leicester men on the death of the Earl of Leicester in 1588, and upon the death of Ferdinando some six years later (after a short interval as the Countess of Derby's Men), successively passed over to the two Careys, the 1st and 2nd Lord Hunsdons (Lord Chamberlains), the latter of whom was Ferdinando's brother-in-law.

Ferdinando, Lord Strange was throughout life interested in plays, and even before the officially recognised Company of Strange men, there was a private or provincial body of players from 1577 employed by Lord Strange, and the co-relation of these data suggest that the Poet's association and employment by the Stanleys and their family connexions was of considerable duration, cultural value and experience ; was probably in existence in 1588 ; would at times involve his presence in Lancashire ; and was of more influence on his career as an actor and playwright than that of his other patron Southampton.

How he obtained access to the noble and influential Stanleys still remains to be proved, but a possible and practical explanation

arises from the construction to be placed upon some Lancashire facts which are not in dispute. In 1581 a youth called William Shakeshafte (a variation of surname which is known to have been used by the Poet's grandfather) was in the service of a member of the Hoghton family of Hoghton Towers, who made his will in that year. The testator, 'if his brother was not minded to keep players', bequeathed his playclothes and musical instruments to his friend Sir Thomas Hesketh and heartily required him to be friendly to William Shakeshafte (and another youth) "now dwelling with me, to take them into his service or else help them to some other master as my trust is".

Sir Thomas lived at Rufford in proximity to Lathom (then the principal seat of the Earl of Derby), his family was related by marriage to the Stanleys, whose official Household Records of that period mention 'Sir To. Hesketh plaiers went awaie (1587)' and the interchange of visits between the two families came to an end.

As bearing on the Stanley influence it may be useful to refer here to the opinion of another art critic, the late Mrs. Charlotte Stopes, who in a long letter published in *The Times Literary Supplement* (4th Nov. 1915) tells of examining "the (Grafton) painting, a panel, evidently genuine and contemporary".

But as to the identity of the sitter she remarks upon the exceptional collar and the fact that in a picture of Ferdinando Stanley at Knowsley, he is wearing a collar of similar shape, and that his brother William Stanley might have followed a similar style of dress, and she submits that it is probable that the so-called Grafton portrait may be that of one of these noblemen. She offers as an explanation of how a Stanley portrait could easily have got to Grafton in Northamptonshire, by remarking on the Stanley connexions with the Wydviles of Grafton, with the Cliffords who later lived there, and also with the Spencers of Althorpe in that County.

Inasmuch as Ferdinando's name would not fit the initials of the superscription, and as she acknowledges "that neither of the brothers would exactly suit the dates", Mrs. Stopes' observations, coupled to the data above-mentioned, may lead to the tentative possibility that through the influence of the



Stanleys (who would not fail to discern his genius) the Poet might have sat to a painter of ability, and that the Portrait might have reached Northamptonshire

The question of identification of this Portrait cannot be dismissed without also considering its compatibility with the Droeshout engraving and the Bust at Stratford Church.

Sidney Lee (in his chapter on Portraits) and Spielman concur in the view that these two are at present the only fully accredited representations of the Poet ; but that ' neither is directly a life portrait ; that there are not unimportant differences between the two likenesses ; and that both of them have artistic deficiencies and defects '.

In that respect Mr. Spielman's lecture on ' Shakespearean Portraiture to the Shakespeare Association in 1923 ' (see *Studies of the First Folio* : O.U.P. 1924) comparing these two well-known portrayals is illuminating and instructive.

He lays down " actual bony structure (and skull formation) as the definitive test of all the portraits " and refers to the Bust as " almost a hackneyed form of sepulchral monument ".

As to the Droeshout Print of 1622, his masterly examination contains a severe and detailed criticism of its draughtsmanship, balance and costume, the over-accentuated jaw, the misplaced position and drawing of the mouth, ' and worst of all the illumination of the head ; the light comes from more than one place ' with confused effects which " carry the inexperienced artist over the borderline of sane facial representation ".

It would seem to follow that allowances which are proper in reconciling the differences between those two likenesses, must equally apply to the use of Droeshout's work as a test for the Grafton Portrait.

That task to discover whether " they [also] support and complement one another " should before long be competently performed, making due allowances also for the facts that the Grafton Portrait purports to be a direct life study and is of a younger man, and in a form of pictorial art and material differing from those of both Droeshout and Janssen.



